

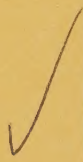
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HISTORY

OF

THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH

BY

JOHN FLETCHER HURST

V. 1, Pt. 2

VOLUME I

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censures the disorders of the bishops at the opening of the council of Ephesus, in 431; threatens to send an imperial officer to review the proceedings and annul what is improper; and prohibits the members of the council from leaving Ephesus under any circumstances. When the progress of the council of Chalcedon seemed to be rather tedious the imperial deputies told the bishops that they must expedite their affairs, as graver matters of State required their own presence at the capital.¹

But much greater proof of the supreme power of the State over the Church is to be seen in the imperial legislation. "The laws of the Christian emperors," says Lea, "from Constantine to Leo the Philosopher, manifest the absolute subordination of the spiritual to the temporal authority. The minutiae of Church government, the relations of the clergy among themselves and to the State, their duties, their morals, and their actions, monastic regulations, the suppression of heresies—all the details, in fact, of ecclesiastical life, internal and external, are prescribed with the assurance of unquestioned power and with a care which shows how large a portion of the imperial attention was devoted to the management of the Church."² We shall see, presently, how fully Charles the Great and his successors adopted this same method in dealing with ecclesiastical affairs, and yet, by adroit conciliation, without causing offense at Rome.

Various agencies contributed to bring about a change in the subordinate position of the Church. The civil authority underwent serious diminution, while that of the Church proportionately increased. One cause of the revolution was the growing weakness and corruption of the Roman emperors, and, simultaneously with it, the talents, daring, and consistent arrogance of the popes. To this must be added the fact that, in the struggle for existence and autonomy against the Greek on the one hand and the barbarian on the other, the Italian regarded the pope as the only representative of the national life and the patriotic principle, while the new transalpine Churches were in constant need of reference to him, and were in the habit of regarding him as umpire and sympathizer in their troubles.

The appellate power of Rome, long wavering, became supreme after the year 445, when Leo I wrung from Valentinian III an imperial edict, by which the Roman Church was strengthened in its most extravagant pretensions.³ Yet at no time was there any

¹ Concil. Chalced. Act., xii (Hardouin, ii, 559).

² Studies in Church History, p. 16.

³ Lea, Studies in Church History, pp. 128, 129. In this work there is the best available account, to English readers, of the appellate jurisdiction of Rome.

general withdrawal of prerogatives on the part of the emperors, and wherever a concession was made by one of them to the Church it was treated soon afterward, either by himself or his successor, as an incident rather than a rule. The relation between the temporal and ecclesiastical authority was determined, generally, by the amount of energy and talent that characterized the exercise of the one toward the other. As soon as the Frankish elements in the North began to consolidate, however, and the utter weakness of the papacy to counteract the inroads of the Lombards became apparent, the authority of the Church declined to a low degree; and it required much greater energy and genius than fell to the lot of even a Boniface to restore the reverence which Rome had once enjoyed. Even Gregory the Great, long before the apostle of Germany was born, knew where his limits lay, as we have abundant proof in the following humble confession accompanying his remonstrance against the edict of the emperor Maurice, in 593, which prohibited the abbots of monasteries from receiving soldiers: "What am I but a worm and dust, thus to speak to my masters? . . . I have done what was my very duty in every particular; I have charged the emperor, and have not hushed in silence what I felt to be due to God."

But while such was the traditional relation of the Church to the State it became more intense during the Carolingian period.

CHARLES THE
GREAT MADE
NO REAL CON-
CESSION TO
THE PAPACY.

Charles the Great never made a concession to the papacy in a manner which indicated that he was prompted by any other sentiment than complacency. He never acknowledged that any one in the Church could claim equality, or even important participation, with him in his administration of ecclesiastical affairs. Between him and Constantine there were many striking points of resemblance, but in no respect were they more alike than in their common conception of the empire as a unit; that the office of civil head carries with it all-controlling functions, and, as a consequence, that Christianity sustains the same relation to the State as the old pagan faith had borne to the Roman emperors. With all the apparent policy of conciliation on Charles the Great's part toward the popes, with whom he stood in intimate relation, his notion of his own rights as head of the Church was just as severe and inflexible as that of any Roman predecessor concerning his rights as pontifex maximus. The appellate power of Rome was never once made use of, or even recognized, during the reign of Charles the Great and his son; and the first Frankish emperor was not merely Roman patrician, but as much suzerain of Rome's

bishop as of Rome itself.¹ Leo III, having announced to Charles the Great his election to the papacy, in the year 796, received in reply an acknowledgment of the new pope's pledge of humble obedience and fidelity, and the emperor gave instructions to his envoy, who should be present at the consecration, to admonish the pope to live properly and obey the canons.² How much importance Charles the Great attached to the necessity of the papal coronation may be seen in the fact that, in 813, he crowned his own son Louis with his own hands, on associating him with him in the imperial rule; and when, after the father's death in the following year, Stephen IV both crowned and anointed the same son as Charles the Great's successor it was purely a piece of spontaneous papal action, and the diadem had been brought from Rome for that purpose by the pope himself. It was this same pope, on the other hand, who deferred so completely to the imperial authority that he caused a synodal canon to be passed requiring that, in future, no newly elected pope should be consecrated except in the presence of imperial delegates.³

These are but minor proofs, however, of the completeness of the vassalage of the papacy to the empire during the Carolingian period. But it was a willing subordination; for the popes, taught by experience the sublime virtue of patience, knew how to await the day of complete deliverance. And the day came more swiftly than their aspirations; for with the downfall of the Carolingian dynasty came the complete rupture of every bond that made the Pope of Rome a subject to any earthly sovereign.

We now come to the still stronger evidences of ecclesiastical

¹ Charles the Great's "unwearied and comprehensive activity made him throughout his reign an ecclesiastical no less than a civil ruler, summoning and sitting in councils, examining and appointing bishops, settling by capitularies the smallest points of Church discipline and polity."—Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, 8th ed., p. 65.

² "Valde, ut fateor, gavisus sum, seu in electionis unanimitate, seu in humilitatis vestre obedientia, et in promissionis ad nos fidelitate."—*Epist. ad Leonem Papam* (Baluz.). *Carol. Mag. Commonitor.*, ann. 796 (Baluz., i, 195, Ed. Venet.). Lea, *Studies in Church History*, p. 34. For the General Admonition of Charles in the Diet held at Aix-la-Chapelle, which confirms the remark of the monk of St. Gall that Charles was a "bishop of bishops," see Mombert, *Charles the Great*, pp. 316, 317. "The Church had to obey him," says Mombert, "not he the Church." "Never," says Dean Church, "in modern Europe has the union of Church and State, exhibited in the supremacy of the king, been carried to so high a point."—*Beginning of the Middle Ages*, p. 129.

³ Lea, *Studies in Church History*, p. 38. This author replies very well to the objections to the genuineness and date of this decree by citing the allusion to it by Nicholas I in the council of Rome in 862.

subjection in the internal management of the Church by the direct measures of the Carolingian rulers. Charles the Great has seldom been surpassed in history as an organizer, and he was capable of managing affairs as discreetly and promptly in their detailed as in their broader and related bearings; and in no department of his administration is there a more admirable adaptation to the exigencies of the time, as he conceived them, than in his methods of regulating the ecclesiastical and religious interests of his empire. His whole government was one vast theocracy, the character of which was as little disturbed by war as by peace. He never justified his wars with the Saxons on any other ground than a desire to make Christians out of those wild and idolatrous followers of Wittekind.

The appointment of bishops by the Carolingian rulers is one of the strongest proofs of their almost absolute control of the Church within their dominions. The bishops, in the early Church, were elected by the joint clerical and lay votes of the community.¹ In

**BISHOPS AP-
POINTED BY
THE EMPEROR.**

certain localities the people, having elected their bishops, were held responsible for such as proved unworthy, and were even expected to dispossess them of their miters.

This was when the Church was young and pure, and possessed too little power and wealth to make it the object of royal ambition, fear, or flattery. But as its relations to the State became more intimate, and the civil rulers themselves were Christian, it gathered about it a prestige and influence that the proudest princes might well be at pains to win to their support. The interference in the appointment of bishops was one of the first attempts made by the temporal sovereign to exercise controlling influence upon the Church. The bishops in the large commercial and political centers, and especially in the capital, were men of vast power, and the rise and existence of a dynasty were often determined by them. But the Christian emperors of the old Roman empire limited their exercise of investiture to filling the vacant sees in the most important cities.² However, the evil grew with the increase of worldliness in the Church. It could not be expected that such an engine of influence should long escape the attention of the civil ruler and that in due time the most important sees should not fall largely under their management.

Before the accession of Charles the Great there were many gross

¹ Qui præfaturus est omnibus ab omnibus eligatur. Leon., pp. i, Epist. 10, cap. 6; Cyprian, Epist. 67 (ed. Oxon.). Comp. Lea, Stud. in Ch. Hist., p. 81, and notes.

² Neander, Hist. Christ. Rel. and Ch., vol. v, p. 123.

instances of the nomination of bishops by the Frankish rulers, not to mention the outright purchase of the prelacy by gold or personal attentions. Two parallel bishops, Theodorus and Proculus, were appointed by Queen Clotilda, in 520, for the diocese of Tours. These were succeeded in a year by another civil appointment, Dionysius, and, after a lapse of two years, the see was in turn occupied by Ommatius, made bishop by order of King Clodomir.¹ The practice of purchasing the episcopal office became so common, and the nomination to the same so much the habit of the ruler, that the councils took the matter in hand. But the strong protests of the council of Orleans in 549, and of that of Paris in 557, had but little effect in remedying the evil of royal investiture, as the Merovingians first, and the Carolingians later, came into power. Dagobert I, in 630, appointed his treasurer, Didier, who was only a layman, to the see of Cahors, and gave the archbishop orders to consecrate him. The new bishop accepted the office in these words: "By your order, God being the author, I preside over the see of Cahors." The formulas for consecration were so worded that the king was represented as the real disposer of the office.²

PURCHASE OF
THE EPISCOPAL
OFFICE.

The canons of the Church were set aside with impunity by the barbaric sovereigns, and such men as Clovis and Childeric regarded the bishoprics as fully a political affair as the collectorship of revenue or the governorship of a province.³ In such portions of Germany as had been evangelized the same prerogative was exercised by the king. Boniface, the great champion of ecclesiastical prerogatives, was himself made archbishop of Mainz at royal hands. In Spain, at the twelfth council of Toledo, a canon was established by which neither the laity nor the clergy were permitted the right of suffrage at an episcopal election.⁴ Gallus, Bishop of Arverna (Clermont), boasted that he obtained his office from Theodoric, son and successor of Clovis, by giving as a *douceur* to the cook who waited on the king's table a single triens (about a penny, see Anthon), or one third of an as. The common means of obtaining a bishopric was reduced to the following terse direction: *offerre multa, plurima promittere*. The English prelates were likewise appointed and ejected according to the will of the sovereign, and such royal chaplains as were so fortunate as to win the favor of their masters were rewarded by the gift

THE EPISCO-
PACY RE-
GARDED BY
THE RULERS AS
A POLITICAL
AFFAIR.

¹ Greg. Taron., *Hist. Franc.*, lib. x, cap. 31; lib. iii, cap. 17.

² Marculfus, lib. i, Nos. 5, 6, 7.

³ Hardwick, *Hist. Christ. Ch. in Mid. Ages*, p. 54.

⁴ Concil. Toletan., xii, can. 6.

of bishoprics.¹ Charles Martel rewarded his soldiers with the best sees in his realm.² Many a scarred and bronzed warrior of those days braved the dangers of the field and the fatigues of the forced march with the sole hope that he might receive, as his richest spoils, an exchange of the camp for the episcopal palace, and his military uniform for the pallium, the crozier, and the miter. There were men in the Church who offered a stubborn resistance to this secularization in the nomination of bishops—and with the bishops must be reckoned a vast number of other ecclesiastical officers—but they were utterly unable to cope with the civil power and the traditions that had come down from the time of Constantine the Great.³

Charles the Great, according to the letter of his act, restored, in 803, the old method of electing the bishops by the suffrages of the clergy and the people.⁴ But the very way in which he did it proves that he regarded his act as a demonstration of imperial grace and condescension, while he rendered the whole outward concession null by reserving to the prince the right of ratification. It was a special concession on the part of Louis le Débonnaire shortly after his accession in 816, when he repealed the privilege. Charles the Great did nominate bishops himself, and freely, too, but the prestige of his name, his favor toward the papacy, and his general interest in the welfare of the Church relieved him of all unfriendly criticism, which, however, in his case, would have been powerless in any event.⁵ No civil offices were more coldly and perfunctorily filled by Louis than the bishoprics, and the sixth council of Paris, in 829, formally recognized his right, but humbly suggested that the power be used becomingly. In case of the permission of elections in the old way the ruler was represented by an imperial commissioner, and in case an election was accompanied by irregulari-

CHARLES THE
GREAT'S RES-
Toration OF
THE OLD WAY
OF ELECTING
BISHOPS A
MERE MAKE-
BELIEVE.

¹ Kemble, *Saxons in England*, vol. ii, p. 377.

² Lea, *Stud. in Ch. Hist.*, pp. 86, 87.

³ Lea gives some interesting instances of the conflict of the Church with the sovereigns in the matter of official appointments. *Stud. in Ch. Hist.*, pp. 84-86. Later he discusses at great length the question of the authenticity of Gratian's declaration that Adrian conceded to the emperors not only the right of choosing the popes but all archbishops and bishops: "Insuper archiepiscopos et episcopos per singulas provincias ab eo investituram accipere definit: et ut nisi a rege laudetur et investiatur episcopos a nemine consecratur." *Stud. in Ch. Hist.*, pp. 87-89, notes.

⁴ Döllinger seems to think Charles the Great's restoration of the old mode of electing bishops pretty thorough. He describes the process of election as regulated about the middle of the ninth century.

⁵ Guericke, *Kirchengesch.*, vol. ii, p. 26.

ties the new incumbent was at once ejected and his place filled by direct appointment of the emperor.¹

This method of appointing bishops continued down to the decline of the Carolingian dynasty, rather because of the luster which the example and name of Charles the Great gave to his successors than because of any great capacity on their part or readiness of the Church to acquiesce perpetually in the imperial will. Even after the empire became convulsed in civil wars the popular election of bishops was more a fond tradition than a living fact. The synod of Thionville, for example, in 845, requested the sons of Louis the Pious to nominate new bishops for the vacant sees, and, later, the synod of Vernon petitioned Charles the Fat to fill the long vacant see of Rheims. The natural result of this mode of appointing bishops was that they should

NATURAL RE-
SULT OF IMPERIAL APPOINTMENT OF BISHOPS.

consider themselves subjects of the empire, and take the oath of fidelity to the sovereign. This was done to both Charles the Great and his son Louis, by the popes who crowned and anointed them, and Gregory IV appealed to the example of Frankish bishops as his apology against the charge of perjury for taking part against Louis. The council of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 836, declared that the penalty for the violation of the oath of fealty to the sovereign should be degradation and the forfeiture of the bishopric.²

In legislating concerning the Church, during the reign of the Carolingians, there was the same predominance of the imperial authority that existed in the appointment of the highest ecclesiastical officers. Under the Roman emperors the provincial synods were not controlled in their legislation for the Church, but in the new States that arose on the ruins of the old empire the synods were convened at the wish of or on consultation with the rulers.³ The latter were sometimes participants in the proceedings, and the decrees were published on their authority. Subsequently these synods were merged into the general legislative bodies, where civil and ecclesiastical laws were enacted simultaneously. Formal assemblies of bishops were very uncommon during the rule of the Frankish sovereigns. Boniface, the Jeremiah of his age, lamented that no synod had been convened for a great while. Under Pepin and

IMPERIAL AUTHORITY CONTROLLED LEGISLATION ON CHURCH AFFAIRS.

¹ Lea, *Stud. in Ch. Hist.*, pp. 89, 90.

² Concil. Aquisgr. ii, ann. 836, cap. ii, can. 12.

³ "Sine nostra scientia synodale concilium in regno nostro non agatur."—King Sigebert's letter to Desiderius, Bishop of Cahors, A. D. 65. Baluz., *Capitular*, t. i, p. 143; Neander, *Hist. Christ. Rel. and Ch.*, vol. v, pp. 126, ff.; *Diocesan Synods*, etc., in *Church Quar. Rev.*, Lond., Oct., 1879, pp. 154, ff.

Charles the Great the body which legislated for the State took the same care of the Church.

We do not see, however, that there was here any ground of complaint, for the clergy were represented in the general assemblies, and frequently exerted as much influence on ecclesiastical questions, and sometimes on those purely civil, as the English bishops of our day in the House of Lords. Charles the Great, who could do nothing without system, divided the members of the general assemblies into three groups or chambers, bishops, abbots, and counts; the first two to attend to matters of the Church and the monastic life, and the third to care for political matters. The council of Metz, of 813, may be regarded as an illustration of this systematic arrangement of the business of the Church and the State in the legislative bodies of the Carolingian period. Then the decisions of these bodies went forth in the name of the emperor, without which indorsement they would have had no validity. The Spanish Gothic kingdom was an exception to this policy of combination, where, by a decree of the council of Toledo, in 694, a permanent arrangement was made by which the affairs of the Church should first be discussed for three days by the clerical members alone, and then the secular matters should be considered conjointly by the clerical and secular members.¹

The exemption of the clergy from the burdens of the State—munera publica—underwent revision, like everything else, by the Carolingian princes. While Charles the Great's notion of the sanctity of the clerical office was higher than that of many of his predecessors, it was not too elevated to prevent him from requiring that the bishops and abbots should furnish a contingent for his armies, in due proportion to the amount of property which they held officially. In 801 he forbade the clergy from all participation in military life. Under the old Roman empire the soldiers had been taken altogether from the citizen or free class of the population, and this law, of long force, no doubt had its influence on Charles the Great. The Church had for some time been drawing upon the slave class for her clergy, but during this period the custom grew to such frightful proportions that official measures had to be adopted against it. In a rule adopted by the council of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 816, we read the following: "Many select their clergy exclusively from the bondmen of the Church, and they seem to adopt this course because such persons, when injured by them, or deprived of the salary due to them, cannot complain, for fear of being subjected to corporal punishment

¹ Guericke, Kirchengesch., vol. ii, p. 27.

or of being reduced again to servile labor." This council, however, gave its voice against the habit.

But there was one great end served in thus bringing the slave class into intimate relations with the clergy. The bondmen of the Western world were inspired with hope of deliverance. The Church regarded it a part of her mission to relieve their condition and prepare the way for the dissolution of their bonds. The clergy who had been slaves never forgot the chains of their brethren and their own earliest history. The idea of universal human freedom was more in force then in the Frankish empire than in some parts of Europe and America a thousand years later. The manumission of slaves became a pleasure and a practice of the age, and the Church gave to it her fullest encouragement, as she had done in the fourth and fifth centuries. Gregory the Great gave all the force of his example to the freedom of slaves, and drew a deed manumitting his two slaves.

GREAT END
GAINED BY
CLOSE RELATIONS
OF THE
SLAVES AND
THE CLERGY.

There were numerous evidences that the predominance of civil authority in ecclesiastical matters was undergoing a rapid decline. The Carolingian rulers were growing weaker, and their empire was gradually slipping from their grasp. Charles the Fat was a poor shadow of his grandfather, and just such a man as a bold and unscrupulous papacy knew how to manipulate. In 858 we find the Neustrian bishops declaring to Louis the German that they were not obliged, as laymen were, to do homage or swear fidelity to their sovereign.¹ Think of such language used to the conqueror of Desiderius and Wittekind! He would have deposed them immediately and put a speedy silence to those demands. No pride is of more rapid growth than that which makes religion its basis. Synods, councils, and popes were becoming clamorous for the restoration of the primitive mode of electing bishops, and, by the time that the last descendants of the great Charles were spending their closing days as insignificant and weak functionaries in the city of Laon, the Church found herself proprietress of more than all her old prerogatives, and holding her new territory with an iron grasp, paying back the princely gift of land at the hand of Pepin and Charles the Great by an independence and haughtiness quite new even on the banks of the Tiber. The serpent had been warmed at the genial Carolingian fireside, and now it was ready to use its fangs on the saviour of its life.

DECLINE OF
PREDOMINANCE OF
CIVIL OVER
ECCLESIASTICAL
AUTHORITY.

¹ Capit. Carol. Mag., ann. 794, cap. 7.

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CHAPTER V.

THE FORGED ISIDORIAN DECRETALS.

EVERY period of ferment has been characterized by a disposition to fortify the opinions of the present by an appeal to the testimony of the past. The modern Church is abundant in illustrations, among which may be reckoned the Tractarian movement in the Anglican Church in the former half of the present century, and, more recently, ritualism, the natural offspring of the dusty but energetic Tractarianism of Oxford. In the Carolingian period the reputed authority of the primitive Church was made the apology for every new notion that was presented for the indorsement of the Christian world. The papacy was athirst for power. The slight taste of temporal sovereignty only whetted its teeth for a perpetual feast. Nor was this disposition to rule limited to the highest officer in the Church, but was shared by those next to him in power and station, by the mass of the priesthood, and even by a large body of the faithful among the laity. There were too many dangerous contingencies connected with the authority of the civil sovereign, even though he be a Charles the Great, and particularly with his interference in matters ecclesiastical. The great thought of the Church was to offer resistance to, and put a perpetual quietus upon, all power of the State, or any representative of it, over the Church in any branch of its polity, doctrines, or officers. The power of the Church must be so increased that the officers of the State should be harmless; nay, the Church must be so strengthened as to place even the civil ruler in a subordinate relation to the Church.

The practical form which the general aspiration to strengthen the authority of the Church assumed was the forgery of the Isidorian Decretals. Isidore, Archbishop of Hispalis, was one of the leading writers of the day, and performed for the Spanish Church the distinguished service of making it acquainted with a number of important classical and patristic works. He died in the year 630, and left behind a name of high repute, both for mental and moral endowments. It is not surprising, therefore, that, in an age rich in forgeries, where every honored man who had long since passed away was used by inter-

ATTEMPT TO
FORTIFY THE
PAPACY BY
APPEAL TO
THE PAST.

THE FORGERY
OF THE ISIDORIAN
DECRETALS.

ested writers as the basis for opinions of which the departed never dreamed, Isidore should be made responsible for a system of defense of ecclesiastical authority.¹ The decretals ascribed to him combined all the qualities of a complete delusion, and they have proved the most adroit, bold, direct, and successful piece of forgery in the history of mankind.

Decretal epistles of various dates were already in circulation, for example, the collection of canons and epistles of Dionysius Exiguus, which had been generally used in the West, and the collection which passed under the name of Isidore, of Hispalis, and was probably the work of his pen.² This latter compilation contained important canons not found in the work of Dionysius, and, inasmuch as it contributed to the support of the growing demands of the Church, its circulation was rapid and influential. The same name, Isidore, was now used as the alleged author of a new volume of decretals. The compiler of no other collection had had the effrontery to go farther back into the early Church for authority than to Pope Siricius, whose pontificate extended 384-398, but the deviser of this new compilation, calling himself Isidore, brought out various decrees by unknown councils and mazy letters claiming to be written by Clement and Anacletus, bishops of Rome contemporaneous with the apostles, and by nearly thirty of the apostolic Fathers.

The work was in three parts. The first contained, in addition to the authentic fifty canones apostolici, fifty-nine spurious decretal writings of Roman bishops from Clement I to Melchisedes, from the end of the first to the beginning of the fourth century. Even the reputed donation of territory by Constantine—the *donatio Constantini*—to the papacy was, without much dexterity, brought in to help the common cause. The second part comprised only authentic synodal canons. The third part presented some real decretals, but, besides those, thirty-five false ones, which were held to have been written at various times,

¹ The taste for forgery went so far during this period that decrees of a council that never took place—the alleged Roman council under Sylvester, A. D. 324—were never heard of until the ninth century. Roman Catholic writers decided the whole affair a pure fiction. See Jo. Launoy, *De Cura Ecclesiæ erga Pauperes et Miseros*, cap. i, observ. i, p. 576, of his opp., t. ii, pt. ii. Jo. Cabassut, *Notitia Ecclesiast.*, p. 132, and Pagi, *Critica in Baron. ad. Ann. 334*, §§ xvii, xviii.

² Eichhorn, whose opinion of the date of the issue of this collection has been generally accepted, holds that it was made between 623 and 636. It was not published until 1803, by Gonzales, in Madrid. Robertson, *Hist. Christ. Ch.*, vol. ii, p. 267.

from Sylvester I, who died 335, to Gregory II, who died in 731. Such was the strange mixture of truth and error, thrown into diverse forms of instruction and command, which was palmed upon the world in the name of Isidore. Never was there a nicer adaptation to the thirst of an age,¹ and never were men more disinclined to examine into the internal character of a work presented for their confidence. "The Pseudo-Isidore," says Neander, "was but the organ of a tendency of the religious and ecclesiastical spirit which prevailed with the great mass of the men among whom he lived. He had no idea of introducing a new code, but only of presenting in a connected form the principles which must be recognized by every one as correct, and on which depended the well-being of the Church. . . . In truth, even what had been said by Leo the Great concerning the pope's primacy over the whole Church involves the principle of all that is to be found in these Decretals."²

With the one purpose pervading the whole of the great forgery, of making the Church independent of the State, by an appeal to the earliest examples and rules, it was insisted upon that Rome, and not a king's palace, must become the center of all ecclesiastical power. The Church must protect itself, for the priesthood is infinitely superior to the civil authority. Between the papacy and the bishops had stood the metropolitans, and, according to the Frankish system, the bishop was always amenable to his metropolitan. But the metropolitans were only human, often creatures of civil authority, and ought not to enjoy this high function. Under the Carolingians they had frequently taken side with the State against the bishop. The Decretals produced authority—such as it was—to show that the bishops are of supreme authority, second only to the pope, with whom they stand related as the other apostles to Peter. Much space is given to processes against the bishops. Charges against a bishop can never come before a metropolitan or a secular tribunal, but only before the pope. Even a clerk must be tried before an ecclesiastical court. A wicked bishop, for the sake of his holy office and efficacious consecration, must be borne with. Priests are God's spiritual intimates (*spirituales, familiares Dei*), the apple of his eye, while laymen are only carnal creatures (*carnales*). An offense against a priest is a crime against Deity. No charge can be entertained against an ejected bishop until he is reinstated, and not less than seventy-two witnesses can substantiate a charge against him, and these must answer so many conditions as to make it almost impossible ever to find that number bearing evidence against a

OBJECT OF THE
DECRETALS TO
MAKE THE
CHURCH INDE-
PENDENT OF
THE STATE.

¹ Newman, *Essays, Crit. and Hist.*, ii, 271-275, 320-335. ² Vol, iii, p. 350.

prelate. The court must consist of twelve other bishops, with reference to the number of the apostles. No layman can bring charges against a bishop or a clerk, neither can a clerk make accusation against a bishop.¹ The pope is the only one who can convene provincial synods, and his approval is necessary for the efficacy of their decrees.

That the pope, the bishops, and the lower clergy were the chief gainers by the forgery is very clear. Never had the papal authority found such a shrewd and specious defense, and yet it was a plea for the entire priesthood. Though the fundamental object was the protection and independence of the whole clerical order, in its relation to the civil authority, the support of the papal power was the natural, though unintended, climax.² The author or authors of the Decretals professed to put them forth as a digest of laws already in existence, and with the object of advancing the cause of morality and religion. It requires no great discernment to perceive how little such a profession was in harmony with the magnitude of the deception. One way of accounting for the authorship has been that they were forged by some bishop in jealousy or resentment; certainly their general reception can be accounted for in great measure by this sentiment.³ Among the many evidences, both internal and external, of the spuriousness of the Decretals may be enumerated the prevailing uniformity and impurity of style, which limit the authors to a very small number and the language to the barbarous Latin; the evident use of, and even citations from, works of very late authorship; the clumsy anachronisms abounding throughout the collection; the total absence of all other testimony to the authenticity of the more ancient portions of the Decretals, particularly the fifty-nine older ones; the evident attempt to meet contemporaneous prejudices; and the improbability that so much matter of the alleged impor-

¹ Kurtz, Church History, vol. i, pp. 340, ff.; Robertson, Hist. Christ. Ch., vol. ii, p. 269.

² For authorities in support of this opinion, see Robertson, Hist. Christ. Ch., vol. ii, p. 270, notes. The old view that the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals were fabricated for the purposes of papal aggrandizement is now given up by scholars. Their chief intention seems to have been to emancipate the bishops from the control of metropolitans and councils. See an excellent summing up of the case by Hunter in art. Canon Law, in *Encyc. Brit.*, 9th ed. Weyerschleben, who in various works has most thoroughly investigated this subject, holds that the primacy of Rome was advocated most of all in the interest of the bishops. See his *Geschichte der falschen Dekretalen*, Bresl., 1844, and his art. in Herzog. This is also the opinion of Schrörs, in his *Hinemar Erzbischof von Reims, sein Leben u. seine Schriften*. Freib., 1884.

³ Hallam, Middle Ages, vol. ii, pp. 160, f.

tance here attached to it should have escaped the notice of Dionysius Exiguus.¹

The hopeless uncertainty as to the actual authorship and date and place of publication of the Decretals is another peculiar feature of the remarkable forgery. Never, in the whole history of literature, was a fabrication obscured by more doubt or permitted to pass so long without challenge. The date of issue has been made to range from 829 to 857—the majority of writers holding, however, that the limit can be narrowed down to sixteen years, or from 829 to 845.² The nearest approach to definite locality of publication is that it was either eastern France or Rome, the weight of evidence being with the former.³

UNCERTAINTIES CONCERNING THE DECRETALS.

Wasserschleben has narrowed the margin of possible dates to sometime between 844 and 857. He has shown good reason for believing that the older and minor collection issued from Mayence; while the later and larger collection seems to have been made at Rheims. On the other hand, Schrörs holds that they arose in the diocese of Tours, and that they were framed by Rothad, of Soissons, and Wrelfad, of Rheims, in their conflict with Hinemar, of Rheims (845-852). Rothad and Wrelfad upheld the episcopal claims against the metropolitan claims of Hinemar.

The question of authorship, after weighing all the evidence, reduces itself to this: That Archbishop Riculf (786-814) brought the genuine Isidorian collection from Spain, and this was afterward enlarged and corrupted into the Pseudo-Isidorian by the Archbishop Autcar and published at Mayence during his archiepiscopate (826-847), and that the work of copying was done by Benedictus Levita, who may have had no sus-

MOST PROBABLE AUTHORSHIP.

¹ Niedner, *Christl. Kirchengesch.*, p. 394. As examples of the many absurdities may be cited: Bishops of the second century cite biblical passages from the much later translation of Jerome. Pope Victor I († 202) writes a letter to Bishop Theophilus of Alexandria († 383). Pope Anastasius († 100) speaks of patriarchs, metropolitans, and primates. Pope Melchisedes makes mention of the Nicene Council (325), which did not meet until eleven years after the author's death. Pope Zephyrinus († 218) appeals to the laws of Christian emperors before Constantine, the first one, was born.

² Niedner seems to think, though he leaves his readers to draw their own inference, that the Pseudo-Isidoriana did not appear in their full form before the beginning of the eleventh century. *Kirchengesch.*, p. 297. Some of them had unquestionably been circulated in separate form even during Charles the Great's reign. Hardwick, *Ch. Hist. (M.C. Ages)*, p. 145, note.

³ Eichhorn contends that they were first issued at Rome, in the eighth century, and were incorporated into the Isidorian collection in the Frank empire. *Grundsätze d. Kirchenrechts*, vol. i, p. 158. Later criticism rejects the Roman origin.

picion of the fraud.¹ Autear, instead of being prompted by purely theological or literary motives, had become involved in the rebellion of the sons of Louis the Pious against their father, and took this course of defense for himself and his party against the power of the emperor and the synods that would do his bidding.²

The fatal weaknesses to which we have already referred, besides many minor ones, were altogether overlooked at the time the Pseudo-Isidoriana were first made public. "They were so clumsily contrived," says Neander, "and ignorantly executed that, had the age been a little more fitted for or more inclined to critical investigations, and had the deception itself not fallen in with a predominant interest of the Church, it might have been easily detected and ex-

WEAKNESSES
IN THE DECRE-
TALS OVER-
LOOKED AT THE
TIME.

posed.³ Hincmar, of Rheims, was the only one who protested against their application to existing questions. And this he did from the standpoint of a partisan. He called them a mousetrap, a cup of poison with the brim besmeared with honey, and *commenta et fragmenta compilata*.⁴ They nevertheless immediately took their position as an authority in the canonical law of the Church, and played a highly important rôle in councils, synods, and the entire administration of the Church. By the year 857 they were used to decide important questions and settle disputes that shook the whole Western Church, and, after 864, when they were used by Nicholas I immediately after he became acquainted with them, they were habitually adduced, as having binding force, in the papal rescripts.

Their genuineness was never questioned until the twelfth cen-

GENUINENESS
NOT QUES-
TIONED UNTIL
TWELFTH CEN-
TURY.

tury, by Peter Comestor, but the confidence of the world in them was not disturbed until the fraud was fully exposed by the first Protestant writers of ecclesiastical history, the authors of the *Magdeburg Centuries*.⁵ Leading Roman Catholic writers have subsequently taken pains to abandon the Decretals as a complete, but still pious, fraud.⁶ Möhler,

¹ Gieseler, Church History, vol. ii, p. 114, note 12.

² Kurtz, Abriss d. Kirchengeschichte, p. 76.

³ Church History, vol. iii, p. 347.

⁴ Hincmar at times protested that they were spurious, and at other times used them for his own purposes. Schrörs says that he accepted them. They seem to have been practically unchallenged. See Weizsäcker, Hincmar und Pseudo-Isidor, in Zeitschrift f. hist. Theol., 1858, p. 327; Wasserschleben, in Herzog.

⁵ Cent. Magdeb., ii, c. 7; iii, 7.

⁶ This course is taken by Bellarmine, De Pontif. Roman., lib. ii, c. 14; Baronius, Annal. Eccles. ad annum 865, § 8; Fleury, Hist. Ecclésiastique, vol. xiii, Disc. Prelim., p. 15. Marchetti is about the only writer of any standing who defends the Decretals. Saggio crit. sopra la storia de Feuri. Roma, 1781.

without question the best Roman Catholic writer of the present century, seems disposed to change the whole ground by calling the author of the Decretals a romanticist.¹

If the Pseudo-Isidore had made his appearance and advanced his claims during the mature glory of the descendants of Charles Martel they would have been suppressed with a violent hand. But the Carolingian dynasty had reached its zenith, and was hastening into perpetual obscurity and extinction as rapidly as it had emerged at Poitiers, with a meteor-like splendor, to change the whole course of European life and lay the foundations of modern history—or, according to Newman, of modern civilization.² The confirmation of the donation of Pepin to the papacy, by representing Constantine as the original author of the measure, was one of the cardinal services of the Decretals to the authority of the Church.³ The subjection of the civil to the ecclesiastical power was advocated on so many grounds, and made to cover so many cases, that the elevation reached every ecclesiastic, from the pope on his throne—now proved anew, as it seemed, to be that of St. Peter—to the lowest clerk of Latin Christendom.

A CARDINAL
SERVICE OF
THE DECRE-
TALS TO THE
AUTHORITY OF
THE CHURCH.

¹ *Schriften und Aufsätze*, vol. i, p. 309.

² *Historical Sketches*, vol. i, p. 159.

³ Bryce, *Holy Roman Empire*, p. 157.

CHAPTER VI.

STATE OF LEARNING.

IN no respect was the Carolingian period more distinguished from the immediately preceding and succeeding times than in both the promotion of general intelligence and the restoration of classical culture. The ignorance of the European rulers before the reign of Charles the Great was of a piece with the lamentably low state of learning among the clergy and the masses. The barbarian rulers who had come into possession of southern Europe were as little inclined to respect the literary treasures which were a part of their spoils as they were to appreciate the civilization of which those treasures were the fruit. The literature of Gaul, Spain, and Italy was well-nigh destroyed by the utter disregard, and even outright hostility, of the barbarian kings, who almost without exception were innocent of the least sympathy with or taste for liberal culture. Theodoric, a man who could not write his own name, but who has passed into history as the most famous of the Ostrogothic kings of Italy, is believed to have restrained his own countrymen from attending the very schools by which he, or his minister, Cassiodorus, endeavored to revive the studies of his Italian subjects. Charles the Great's early life was spent in profound ignorance, and, if we accept the testimony of Eginhard, he could not write; while the great Alfred was so little acquainted with Latin that he found difficulty in rendering a translation from the pastoral instruction of St. Gregory.¹ Science, previously to the coming of the Danes, flourished with no little vigor in the cloisters of England and Ireland; but these invaders set themselves assiduously to the work of destruction, and the only relief to the dark picture is the fact that, while they were landing in Britain, Charles the Great was beginning his great reforms of education on the Continent.

The proofs of the prevailing clerical ignorance are abundant.

¹ Hallam, *Middle Ages*, vol. iii, p. 272, and note. Eginhard's much discussed passage is as follows: "Tentabat et scribere, tabulasque et codicillos ad hoc in lexicula sub cervicalibus circumferre solebat, ut, cum vacuum tempus esset, manum effligandis literis assuefaceret; sed parum prospero successit labor præposterus ac serò inchoatus."

In Spain, at the time of Charles the Great, not one priest in a thousand could address a letter of salutation to another; at a council held in Rome in 999 hardly a person could be found who knew the elements of letters; Alfred, of England, declared that at the time of his accession he knew no priest south of the Thames who understood the ordinary prayers or could translate Latin into his mother tongue; at the time of Dunstan none of the clergy knew how to write or translate a Latin letter; and the homilies used by the priests were compiled by the bishops, or at their instance, and distributed to the priests for use in the service.¹ Hallam's apology for this clerical ignorance is, at least, a lame one—the scarcity of the Egyptian papyrus, which almost ceased to be imported into Europe from the conquest of Alexandria by the Saracens, at the beginning of the seventh century, to the close of the eleventh, when the art of making paper from cotton or linen rags first came into use. The real cause was the absence of all taste for culture in the European mind, a result which naturally followed from the example of the barbarian rulers, the distrust by the Church of classic learning, and the uncertain state of society. Europe was ignorant in the extreme, and there is no stronger testimony to the vitality of Greek and Roman culture than the fact that it could exist, even in sleep, among these disintegrating and destructive agencies, which, with only occasional relief, existed down to the revival of humanism at the dawn of the Reformation.

With Charles the Great there came a great change in the education and general culture of the times. His own early disadvantages had convinced him of the necessity of knowledge for both his subjects and himself, while his visits to Italy, where he came in contact with classic learning, quickened his aspirations for the best knowledge that could be brought within his reach and be propagated throughout his dominions. The very men who had been born in Britain, and were the best scholars of their age, were invited by him to become his companions, counselors, and friends, when their own land became a prey to the devastations of the Danes. Alcuin, the pupil of Bede, with whom Charles the Great became acquainted in Italy, in 781, went to Paris in 782, and it was only five years later, 787, that the Northmen invaded England, and ten years later still, 797, that the same tribe invaded Ireland. While they destroyed the fruits of learning, they were not able to make way with the producers, who, now upon the Continent, were destined to continue on a broader scale and a firmer foundation the

CLERICAL IGNORANCE.

THE CHANGE IN EDUCATION AND GENERAL CULTURE BY CHARLES THE GREAT.

¹ Hallam, *Middle Ages*, vol. iii, pp. 273, 274.

work of adapting the learning of the past to new conditions, and of handing it down to later generations.

And thus the court of the Frankish emperor was not less brilliant for its literary magnates than that of Augustus Cæsar, or of Lorenzo the Magnificent, or, latest of all, of Carl Augustus, of Weimar, the friend of Schiller, Goethe, Herder, Wieland, and other creators of the rich German literature of the eighteenth century. It is the right of common kings to rule millions of subjects and divide hemispheres among themselves; but only once in an age does the occupant of a throne possess the high ambition or great honor of being the patron, the friend, and the equal of the undisputed monarchs of thought. Charles the Great was not so great when his brow was pressed by the imperial crown, or when he received the oath of fealty from Wittekind, the conquered Saxon king, as when he sat amid his learned men and received the benefits of their wisdom.

"Charles the Great," says Eginhard, "was a zealous promoter of liberal studies, and greatly revered their professors, upon whom he bestowed the honors. He learned the art of computation, and with great application and skill carefully calculated the motions of the planets. He tried also to learn to write, and used even to put his tablets and writing books under his pillow, so that when he should have leisure he might accustom his hand to forming the letters; but in this task, too long postponed and begun too late in life, he had but little success."¹ But in inaugurating schools for others he had much success. He ordered his bishops and abbots to establish schools for the youth of their neighborhoods, and he gathered teachers at his own court and opened there a school—

the Schola Palatina—where the youth of noble birth might get the best instruction of the times.² At this school of the palace Eginhard, Angilbert, Tatto, Walafrid Strabo, Grimald, Abbot of St. Gall, and other leaders in the literary and religious life, were educated. "Singing schools" and "reading schools" were established at Lyons. The archbishop there wrote to Charles that such was the proficiency of the pupils that they had not only mastered the art of chanting the service, and of conducting it after the pattern of the imperial chapel at Aix-la-Chapelle, but instructed others, and that they could read the Scriptures well, and explain the spiritual sense of the New Testament.³ The whole intellectual culture of the Frankish empire was due almost entirely

¹ Vita Carol. Mag., c. xxv.

² Emerson, Introduction to the Middle Ages, p. 228.

³ Mombert, Hist. of Charles the Great, p. 266.

to the untiring zeal and enthusiasm of the emperor. The monasteries were not originally intended as schools, but Charles the Great directed that they take upon themselves the task of educating the youths of the vicinity, and these schools, at first of an elementary and popular character, four centuries later ripened into, and were absorbed by, the universities.¹

In connection with the seminaries were the grammar and public schools, which served as preparatory institutions to the seminaries and all the secular professions. In 787 an imperial circular was issued to all bishops and abbots, requiring, under penalty of royal displeasure, that schools should be attached to all monasteries and cathedral chapters.

GRAMMAR AND
PUBLIC
SCHOOLS.

About fifty important institutions of learning were established by Charles the Great and the remaining Carolingians in central and upper Italy; in the French cities, Tours, Paris, Corbey, Orleans, Clugny, Lyons, and Toulouse; and in the German cities of Mainz, Treves, Cologne, Utrecht, Fulda, Paderborn, Hildesheim, and elsewhere. There was a special imperial constitution, which not only applied to the regulation of the schools, but to the general educational interests of the realm.² The studies were embraced in the old trivium and quadrivium, the former comprising philology, logic, and rhetoric; and the latter, music, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy. These studies were largely applied to theology. Music, for example, was limited to chanting, and astronomy to the calculation of Easter.³ However, when the question was one of training for the secular professions, this limitation was overridden, and the sciences were taught as liberally as the times required and the teachers were capable. Charles founded two kinds of schools, less and greater. The former he placed in the episcopal palaces, canons' cloisters, monasteries, and elsewhere; the latter he located in public places which were suited for general teaching. These he intended not only for ecclesiastics, but for the nobility and their children and for the poor; in short, for every rank, class, and race.⁴ Theodulph, Bishop

MANY SCHOOLS
UNDER THE
CAROLIN-
GIANS.

¹ Newman decides the question as to whether Charles the Great was the real founder of the University of Paris, by declaring that, if he did not do it directly, he yet adopted the measures which had that inevitable result: "Whether his school at Paris be a university or not, he laid down principles of which a university is the result, in that he aimed at educating all classes, and undertook all subjects of teaching."—*Historical Sketches*, vol. i, p. 153.

² The title of the constitution was: *Constitutio de scholis per singula episcopia et monasteria instituendis*. Comp. Baluzii capitularia reg. Fracie., i, 147; Pertz, *Monum. Germ.*, iii, 52. ³ Schmidt, *Hist. des Allemands*, t. ii, p. 126.

⁴ Bulaeus, quoted in Newman, *Hist. Sketches*, vol. i, p. 155.

of Orleans, established village schools for all classes. Then, for the first time in Europe, learning became the privilege of all.

Charles the Great had great sympathy with the popular legends of his own people, but he found little support in the scholars who surrounded him. He nevertheless caused grammars to be compiled in the language of his Teutonic subjects, and, a great admirer of poetry, he collected the bardic lays of Germany. He deprecated the exclusive use of the Latin, or even the Greek and Hebrew languages, in the Church service, and, in his capitulary at the council of Frankfurt, said: "Let no one suppose that God may not be prayed to except in three languages: forasmuch as in every tongue God is worshiped and man is heard if he ask the things which are right." He required that preaching should be in the vulgar tongue, and that the common people learn the Apostles' Creed and the Lord's Prayer in their own language. Stripes and fasts were penalties for neglect.¹

He took measures to have the people learn to write well, and provided that the poor should pay for the instruction of their children only to the extent of their ability. To enrich the more ignorant portions of his empire he endowed the schools which he had organized with ample means, and England, Italy, and Greece were drawn upon to furnish manuscripts for the new libraries. Special measures were taken to multiply correct copies of the Scriptures and their distribution among the people. Charles the Great was himself no mean author. The Caroline Books, in which the prevalent image worship was combated, were his own work, though some of the details of composition were left to his scholars.

The efforts at popular education, the improvement of the national literature, and the perpetuation of classical learning were noble in the extreme, and were the distinguishing feature of the great Charles. But they were ephemeral. The elevation of the papacy was irreconcilable with the advance of popular intelligence, and when Charles the Great was gone the science of the schools degenerated. From the sixth to the eighth century the literature of Europe had been exclusively religious, and now, after a sudden and brief interval of universal culture, it again became religious, and, until the revival of the latter half of the eleventh century, consisted of insipid legends and priestly wrangles.

¹ Pertz, Leges, i, 130.

CHAPTER VII.

THE GROWTH OF IMAGE WORSHIP.

ONE of the most remarkable and important movements in the history of the Church was the effort to abolish the worship of images. This bitter controversy lasted for a century and a half, and was the occasion of untold suffering, and, though entirely futile in abating the evil aimed at, was fraught with lasting consequences. It was one of the remote causes of the Saracenic conquests in southeastern Europe, and was one of the immediate causes of the division between the Eastern and Western empires and of the long bitterness between the Greek and Roman Churches.

The early Christians would have looked with horror at the bare suggestion of placing images in the churches, and would have considered bowing down or praying before them as nothing less than idolatry. This they would have done for two reasons—the revulsion from heathenism and the influence of the Old Testament Scriptures. The heathen interlocutor in the Octavius of Minucius Felix, one of the finest remains of the old Christian literature, complains of the Christians that they have no consecrated images. Octavius acknowledges the charge, and pours scornful opprobrium on the images of the Roman religion.¹ Lactantius writes in the same lofty disdain of artistic representations. Epiphanius, when on a journey through Palestine, and through his jealousy for Catholic usage, tore down a pictured curtain in a church.² Eusebius of Caesarea argues with great force against the religious use of images. He appeals to the universal conscience of the Church as repudiating everything of the kind.³ The synod of Elvira, in 305, in Spain, bore witness to the feeling of the Church when it gave out this well-known decision: "There shall be no pictures in the church lest what is worshiped and adored be depicted on the walls."⁴ Many efforts have been made to break the force of this abrupt prohibition, but in vain. Dale, in his learned and interesting

LACTANTIUS
AND CLEMENT
AGAINST
IMAGES.

¹ Min. Fel., Oct., x, xxxii.

² Ep. 51. in Jerome, Works, ed. Vallarsi, vol. i, 254. The words of Epiphanius are very strong: "Detestatus in ecclesia Christi, contra auctoritatem scripturarum, hominis pendere imaginem." Outside of his Puritan zeal the testimony of this widely traveled bishop is very important.

³ Ep. ii, ad Constan. Aug.

⁴ Can. xxxvi.

essay on this council, is correct when he says: "It was not merely lest the illimitable should be limited, and the Spirit materialized, to the surprise and scandal of converts and catechumens, but to insure that in the sphere of worship there should be neither human nor divine semblance to divert the soul's homage from its true and lawful object, that this decree was pronounced."¹

Clement of Alexandria, in the fourth chapter of his *Exhortation to the Heathen*, writes a vigorous denunciation of the image cult of the Greeks. The very idea of all such representations in religion he repudiates with disgust. He contrasts the ways of the Christians: "But we have no sensible image of sensible matter, but an image that is perceived by the mind alone—God who alone is truly God." He even takes the second commandment as prohibiting the very calling of artists. In fact, the use of images in the early Church was a mark of heretics. The Carpocratians placed the image of Christ beside those of Plato and Aristotle. There is no better evidence of the change which came over the Church in this regard than the comparison between the earlier and the later apologists. Justin, Origen, Clement of Alexandria, and Minucius Felix rejoice in the Church's rejection of images, while Leontius of Cyprus, in 600, and John of Damascus, in 725, are anxious to defend the practices of the Church against the objections of Jews and Saracens. Chrysostom reviews the whole ecclesiastical life of his time—354 to 407—and yet nowhere in his works is there mention of images in the churches.

But the passing away of heathenism, and the securer position of the Christians in wealth, leisure, and culture, restored art to its place as the handmaid of religion. In the fifth century images were common everywhere. Gregory the Great, pope from 590 to 604, was the first to publish a formal defense and exposition of image worship. But he makes the place of art in the Church purely pedagogic.

GREGORY THE GREAT'S MODERATE ADVOCACY OF IMAGES. The ignorant and rude cannot read, and, he alleged, even if they could, were not able to buy books and manuscripts; they therefore needed pictures as a means to edification and instruction. Images were the books of the unlearned. As to their religious use Gregory would go only to this length, that they might bring the original to our minds more vividly, and thus give greater earnestness to our devotions. But he would frown down any adoration or prostration before the image itself.² The common practice, however, soon went far beyond this.

¹ The Synod of Elvira and Christian Life in the Fourth Century (Lond., 1882), pp. 288-297.

² "For it is one thing to adore a picture; another to learn what it is to be adored through the history told by the picture. What scripture presents to

The universal tendency of mediæval Catholicism, as Neander well points out, was the failure to distinguish the divine from the symbol which represented it, and to transfer to the latter the homage due only to the former.

readers, a picture presents to the gaze of the unlearned: for in it even the ignorant see what they ought to follow; in it the illiterate read." "I know that you do not desire the image of our Saviour that you may worship it as God, but that you may be reminded of him and refresh your love for him by the sight of his image."—Epp. ix; iv, 9; vii, ii, 54. It is unnecessary to say how far beyond this the Roman Catholic theory has gone.

CHAPTER VIII.

ICONOCLASM.

THE image cultus found luxuriant soil especially in the sensuous and imaginative East. In churches and public halls, in houses and cells, by the wayside and on ships, on all utensils and clothing, everywhere, indeed, the pictures of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and the saints were to be seen. The artists were the monks, and most zealously they labored to promote the new worship. Stories of miracles performed by the images were widely circulated and believed. So far did this extravagance go that images were put forward as sponsors in baptism. The image of Christ which legend stated our Saviour sent to Abgar, King of Edessa, was discovered in an opportune time. Stories of images "made without hands" and dropped from heaven were readily received in that uncritical age.

Of necessity a reaction came. The worship of images had been opposed from three directions—one from within the Church, and two from without. The Monophysites, or those who held that the human nature of Christ was overborne or taken up by the divine, and the Monothelites, or advocates of the One-will, were bitterly opposed to the images. The Monophysites argued: The incarnation was the virtual deification of the human nature of Christ. It has the properties of the Deity. His human nature is therefore incomprehensible (*ἀκατάληπτος*) and uncircumscribed (*ἀπερίγραφος*), and therefore cannot be depicted within the bounds of a circumscribed figure. The absorption of the humanity of Christ into his divinity brings the whole person of Christ under the law of the second commandment. Besides, the only symbol or figure which Christ has left us is the body and blood of the Eucharist. Then, as to the images of the saints, the Monophysites said that, as the saints were at rest with God in felicity forever it was unlawful to represent them before our eyes, especially by the heathen arts of painting. The pagans did not believe in a resurrection, and therefore they tried to picture forth their dead as present; why then should Christians borrow their abominable arts to represent the departed spirit that is with God as still present in the flesh? The Monophysites denounced art in itself as sinful.

Now this opposition of the Monophysites was of great force.

Though condemned at Chalcedon, their ideas were still influential throughout the East. At the close of the fifth century Xenias, or Philoxenus, the Monophysite bishop of Hierapolis, opposed severely all representations of the angels or Christ, and destroyed all the images he could find. In 515 the patriarch Severus, of Antioch, another Monophysite, melted down the doves of silver and gold which were usually suspended over the altar and fonts, saying that the Holy Ghost ought not to be represented in such a manner. Serenus, at Marseilles, in the seventh century, tried to carry out the same reform in his city and diocese. The emperor Anastasius, 492-518, was a Monophysite, as were Heraclius, 610-641, Constant, 641-668, and the Armenian Philip, 711-713. This last ruler burned the official acts of the sixth general council, which had condemned Monophysitism and its congener Monothelitism, and deposed the orthodox patriarch Cyrus. These emperors were supported by several of the higher clergy. The Church in Armenia and in part of Syria was Monophysite. Leo himself was of Monophysite stock. We need not wonder, therefore, at the coming outbreak under that emperor. Given a sovereign with Monophysite sympathies and with sufficient vigor to brave the hatred of the Church, one could easily prophesy that an attempt would be made to break up a practice which, after everything has been said in its favor, had evidently grown into an enormous abuse.

The predisposing causes of iconoclasm have been strangely overlooked, they being supposed to have issued solely from the despotic zeal of Leo. Combefis, in his *History of the Causes of Monothelitism*, was the first to point out the relation between these disputes on the person of Christ and the iconoclastic movement. Stokes is the only recent historian who seems to have done justice to the historical connections of the subject. Iconoclasm, like every other phenomenon in history, was not an isolated event. Its way was prepared.

The two other opposing forces were the Jews and Mohammedans. Arguments from image worship were their stock in trade in their polemic against the Christians. Idolatry was their cry. The great champion of the faith was Leontius of Cyprus, 600. In his *Apology* he defends image worship with the arguments of John of Damascus in his *Orations on Images*, and by the second Nicene council, afterward repeated by Gregory II in his letter to Leo. His line of thought is interesting: The Mosaic law was not directed against the devotional use of images, but only against the idolatrous use of them. In fact, the tabernacle and temple had their images, as the cherubim, the brazen oxen, and other

objects. Just as the child will reverence the clothes once worn by an absent father, so Christians reverence everything that Christ touched. For this reason we represent the symbol of his passion in churches and houses and shops, and in the market place and on articles of clothing; so that we may have it constantly before our eyes and may be reminded of it, and not forget it as the Jews have forgotten their God. In the Old Testament the ceremony of prostration sometimes occurs as a mark of respect even to men, and therefore could by no means imply idolatry. He refers apologetically to cures wrought by images, to miraculous cases of conversion effected by the same means, and to stories of images from which blood had been seen to trickle. In conclusion he says: "The images are not our gods; but they are the images of Christ and his saints, which exist and are venerated in remembrance and in honor of these, and as ornaments of the churches."¹

But despite these plausible reasonings the Jews pressed their charge of idolatry, and to men of matter-of-fact minds the charge must have had weight. As for the Mohammedans, they abominated the whole Christian pantheon, as they would call it, with its gradations of saints, angels, and persons in the Godhead, to all of whom obeisance was paid. A letter has been brought to light by M. Félix Nève which throws an unexpected light on Leo's part in the image controversy. The Caliph Omar II, soon after his

THE LETTER OF
OMAR II.

accession in 717, wrote a letter of inquiry concerning the Christian religion to the new Emperor of the East, Leo the Isaurian, and stated also his objections to it. In the course of this letter the Arab drives home this question, "Why do you worship the bones of the apostles and prophets, as also paintings, and the cross, which anciently served according to the law as an instrument of punishment?" Leo, in his reply, attempts a very half-hearted defense of the objectionable practice, or, rather, he ventures a word for the cross; but while he praises the pious feeling which delights to have the images of the saints near at hand on which to gaze, he repudiates any homage paid to them. The Scriptures give us no permission to pay homage to pictures, says Leo; "We glorify the saints, but we render no homage to painted wood."² This

¹ Quoted in 4th session of 7th Gen. Council. Mansi, xiii, 44-53. See also Migne, Pat. Gr., xciii, 1565.

² This remarkable letter was first brought to the attention of Europeans by Félix Nève in a series of articles on John of Damascus in *La Belgique* in 1861. It is mentioned by no recent historian. Headmaster Lupton in his excellent monograph on that Father (Lond., 1882) notices it. An Armenian scholar of the eighth century, Ghévoud, left a history of his own times, and here he embodied

etter brought home to Leo the weak spot in the Christianity of his time, and made him feel that if ever his religion made any headway against its hated enemies, who were pressing on every side, it must get rid in some way of this detestable cult. Perhaps he had come to the kingdom for such a time as this. There dawned on him the conviction that he was designated by Jehovah as the deliverer of the Church from its idol worship.

The emperor Leo the Isaurian (716-741) has been called by Finlay one of the unappreciated heroes of mankind.¹ He was undoubtedly a prince of great vigor, and had a masterly grasp of the situation. Although not all of his measures were wise, there can be no doubt that they were dictated by a patriotic intention. He swept back the Saracen invasion, reformed the civil administration of the empire, and brought peace and a sense of security to all. To this fact, as Finlay suggests, is due the contentment of the commercial classes during his iconoclastic crusade. The first edict of Leo against image worship was issued in 726. It provided for the destruction of all the more prominent images.² The edict created a storm of opposition. While a soldier was destroying the image of Christ over the gate of the palace a mob assembled, principally of women, and while an officer was aiming a blow at the head of the image the women knocked the ladder down, and, in their insane fury, slew the soldier. The emperor found that he had embarked on an enterprise more difficult than he had anticipated. Images were strongly enthroned in the popular veneration. Germanus, the patriarch of Constantinople, however pliant he might be in the abstract matter of Monothelitism, was not to be moved in this matter. After vainly striving to win over Germanus to his views Leo called a

LEO THE ISAU-
RIAN AND HIS
FIRST EDDICT.

the letters of Charles II and Leo III. They were translated into French by the archimandrite Chahnazarian (Paris, 1856). The above quotation is from that translation.

¹ See *History of Greece from the Conquest by the Romans to the Present Time*. Ed. by H. F. Tozer, rev. ed., 7 vols., 8vo, Oxf., 1877. This is a monumental work—the modern Gibbon. It is indispensable to the student of the history of the East.

² We believe, with Stokes, that the general view of historians is incorrect when they say that the first edict of Leo provided simply for the removal of the images to a higher place on the walls, out of the reach of the people. Hefele has conclusively shown, by a thorough study of the chronology, that the first edict went so far as to order the destruction of the images. But on account of the opposition of Germanus, who refused to countersign the decrees, it proved largely inoperative. See 4th vol. of Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*. Mosheim (ii, 38, ed. Murdock) says that Leo ordered the total removal of the images at the first.

council at his palace, where he again called upon the aged patriarch to give his sanction to an edict against images. In a long oration the patriarch defended his views, and, seeing that he was powerless to change the emperor's mind, he finally said, "If I am a Jonah, sling me into the sea; but without the authority of a general council the faith cannot be changed." Germanus, already over ninety years of age, resigned his office and retired to his own estate, where he soon died.

Another powerful opponent arose in John of Damascus. Living without the Eastern empire, he not only enjoyed a freedom which contrasted favorably with the persecuting measures of the emperor, but he held an office under the caliph. John, in three Orations on Images, made the most powerful defense of the cult that had been written. The doctrine of relative worship which he laid down has from that day to this been the doctrine of the Greek and Roman Churches. One of the chief points of the argument is the theological one. The iconoclasts virtually deny the reality of the incarnation, and are Docetists. Besides, after the manner of the Manichæans, they abuse matter, which God has honored. The scriptural argument he brushes aside with the thought that the coming of Christ has made obsolete the regulations of the Old Testament. "In fact, he views iconoclasm as a return to the bondage of Judaism from the freedom of the Gospel, and asks, if they observe the law on this point, why not upon circumcision and the Sabbath."¹

A more influential voice was heard from the West. Pope Gregory II (715-731), who had long disliked Leo's fiscal policy, was deeply enraged by the emperor's new rôle. He immediately called a synod to consider the edict. He followed this with a letter to Leo, in which he defended image worship by the usual arguments. These letters are remarkable, not so much for their interest in this controversy as for the light they throw on other points. As to the growing consciousness of power on the part of the pope these words are significant: "But thou wishest to frighten me, and sayest, I will send men to Rome to destroy the image of St. Peter, and to lead Pope Gregory prisoner as Constantine led Martin. Know that the bishops of Rome are as a wall between the East and West. If thou wilt pursue me, the Bishop of Rome will simply retire twenty-four stadia from Rome into Campania. Then pursue the winds." The same feeling appears in the almost contemptuous tone with which he addresses him: "I beseech thee,

¹ See Works, in Migne, Pat. Gr., vols. 94-96.

lay aside thy wicked thoughts, and save thy soul from the curses which the whole world are throwing at thee. The very children mock thee. Go into a school and say, I am an enemy of images; they will sling their tablets at thee." The ignorance of Scripture of even the best read men of that day is well illustrated by one remark of the pope: Leo had called himself the true successor of Uzziah (meaning, of course, Hezekiah) in his image-breaking zeal. Gregory readily falls into the same trap: "Thou writest, Just as after eight hundred years the Jewish king removed the serpent of brass out of the temple, so have I, after eight hundred years, removed images out of the Church. King Uzziah was in truth thy brother, for he, like thee, did violence to the priest." David deposited the serpent of brass in the temple with the ark of the covenant. It was there an image consecrated by God to cure those who had been bitten by serpents."² More important still is the pope's testimony as to the relation of the Church and State. He blames the emperor for intruding into affairs which do not belong to him: "You know that the doctrines of the Holy Church are not of emperors but of prelates. Therefore prelates, abstaining from the affairs of the State, are placed over the churches, and, similarly, emperors abstain from ecclesiastical affairs, and each takes hold of what is committed to him." In this he echoes the sentiment of St. John of Damascus in his second Oration on Images: "'It does not belong to the monarch,' says John, 'to give laws to the Church. The welfare of the State is of kings, the ecclesiastical ordering is of pastors and teachers.'" The words of Gregory concerning the rights of an orthodox emperor in a general council are also worth quoting. To Leo's proposal of such a council to settle the matter in dispute the pope says: "Thou art a contumelious persecutor and destroyer of images. Leave off, and grant us the favor of thy silence, and then the world will enjoy peace, and scandals will cease. When is the Christ-loving and pious emperor to sit in council in the accustomed way, and reward those who speak aright, and dismiss those who babble contrary to the truth, when thou, the emperor, waverest and imitatetest barbarians? Only keep quiet, and there is no need of a council."³

The emperor and the pope were thus at sword's points. The papal messengers to the Eastern court were seized and imprisoned. Pope Gregory II called a synod, November 1, 731, which excommunicated all the iconoclasts, though without mentioning the emperor

¹ 2 Chron. xxvi, 16.

² 2 Kings xviii, 4; 2 Chron. v, 10.

³ The letters of Gregory II are found in Jaffé, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, 1851, 2d ed., 1881, f.

by name. Leo replied by sending against Rome a fleet, which was defeated under the wall of Ravenna. This was the real blow which separated Rome from Constantinople. Though the East afterward restored the images, the deep rupture which Leo had made could never be healed. A nominal relation between Rome and the East continued to exist until 800, but the sturdy Isaurian acknowledged that he had lost Italy in his retaliatory seizure of papal estates in Sicily and Calabria, and in the separation of Illyria, Greece, Macedonia, and Sicily from the Roman jurisdiction.

CHAPTER IX.

LATER FORTUNES OF THE ICONOCLASTIC MOVEMENT.

LEO was succeeded in 741 by his son, Constantine Copronymus (741-755), who inherited his father's vigor and magnificent abilities, but had even less than his father's piety and respect for human rights. In 754 he called a general council at Constantinople for the decision of the question. Three hundred and thirty-eight bishops attended. The council was presided over by CONSTANTINE Theodosius, Archbishop of Ephesus, the old theological COPRONYMUS adviser of Leo. It pronounced against image worship on doctrinal grounds as a violence to the dignity of Christ, and peremptorily interdicted all such worship. The council declared the suspension of any clergyman, and the punishment by the civil power of any layman, who possessed an image. It forbade, however, the tampering with the churches under iconoclastic zeal without the special permission of the emperor and patriarch. The decisions of the council were taken seriously by Copronymus. The public worship of images was suppressed throughout the Eastern empire. The monks especially, who were fanatically devoted to the image cult, felt the severity of the emperor's hand. Two sufferers deserve mention. The monk Andrew, with the zeal of an Old Testament prophet, denounced Constantine to his face as a new Valens and Julian for persecuting Christ in his members and in his images. For this he was scourged in the hippodrome, and afterward strangled. The venerable Stephen remained faithful to the PERSECUTION images, in spite of banishment and torture. Desiring to give an object lesson to the emperor of what must be the feelings of the saints whose images were insulted, he threw a coin, stamped with the emperor's head, on the ground and trod upon it. He was thrown into prison. His followers pleaded so earnestly for him that Constantine cried out, "Am I or this monk emperor of the world?"¹ His courtiers took the hint, and, after the fashion of mobs, rushed to the prison, broke open the door, tied a rope to Stephen's foot, dragged him through the streets until he was dead, and then tore his body into pieces.²

¹ Compare the similar exclamation of Henry II of England over a Becket.

² This was about 770. It must be remembered that the accounts of the iconoclasts' persecutions we have entirely from their enemies. The chief contem-

Under the influence of Irene, the wife of the mild Leo IV (775-780), the persecution was relaxed, and the monks came out of their hiding places. This strong-minded but cruel woman so dominated the mind of her son, Constantine VI (780-797), whose eyes she put out, that the Isaurian policy was reversed, and the image champions were once more in the front. The seventh œcumenical council was convened at Nicæa, in September, 787, to give authoritative sanction to the devotees of the cult. It was presided over by Tarasius, Patriarch of Constantinople. The chief seats were occupied by THE COUNCIL OF NICÆA, 787. the Roman envoys. It was attended by three hundred and fifty bishops. It is accounted an œcumenical council by the Greek and Roman Churches, who repudiate the council under Copronymus, though it lacked two of the chief characteristics of such a council—representation of the whole Church and freedom of debate. The three eastern patriarchs were neither present nor represented by their secretaries, though two monks claimed to act in their place. The decisions of the council, like those of 754, were determined beforehand. The council decreed that the images and pictures of Christ, Mary, the saints, and pictures of the cross should be admitted into the churches, and that they should be worshiped, not with the worship which is offered to God (*λατρεία*) but with a due reverence and prostration of the body (*ὑπακοὴ καὶ τιμητικῇ*). The iconoclasts came into power again under Leo the Armenian (813), who recalled the times of Leo the Isaurian by the vigor of his administration. Michael the Stammerer, and Theophilus, his son, pursued the same policy. A woman again turned the tide. Theophilus's widow, Theodora, who had always been a secret worshiper of images, governed the empire at her husband's death, 842, in the name of her infant son, Michael III, afterward called The Drunkard. On the first Sunday in Lent, February 19, 842, she proclaimed a solemn festival, at which the long controversy was brought to an end by the formal restoration of the images. This day is celebrated in the Greek Church as the Feast of Orthodoxy. It is one of the great days of the Greek year. Since that time the worship of images painted on a flat surface has been a recognized rite in the East. The Roman Church, with characteristic consistency, allows also the use of statues.

The iconoclastic controversy is an excellent illustration of the

porary is Theophanes (died 816), a monk at Sigrionia, in Mysia. He himself was taken to Constantinople in chains and then banished by Leo, the Armenian, one of the last of the iconoclasts. No doubt these monkish historians did not treat their persecutors too scrupulously. The best edition of Theophanes is by Classen, Bonn, 1839.

abortiveness of a reform inaugurated by a king, and which meets no responsive chord in the hearts of the people. It rested on kingly absolutism, and, in this case, on a gross abuse of that power. There were no deep religious convictions underlying it, nor apparently any spiritual apprehension of Christianity. So far as devotion and earnest religious life were concerned the image worshipers bear off the palm. To them belong the great saints, theologians, and hymnists, John of Damascus and Theodore of the Studium.

FAILURE OF
THE ICONO-
CLASTIC RE-
FORM.

While there can be no doubt that Leo the Isaurian had a healthy disgust at the extremes to which the adoration of images had gone, and a conviction that it was a departure from the spiritual worship of the early times, it does not appear that either he or his abettors or successors had any genuine religious enthusiasm. They took away the objects of popular veneration, but supplied nothing else in their place. As Milman well says: "Iconoclasm was a premature rationalism, enforced upon an unreasoning age—an attempt to spiritualize by law and edict a generation which had been unspiritualized by centuries of materialistic devotion."¹ There can be no surprise that the attempt ended in a miserable failure. All permanent religious reforms must proceed from the convictions of the people.

The movement, however, was not without consequences. It was one of the chief means of loosening the bond between the East and West. It effected an irreparable rupture between Rome and Constantinople. Leo the Armenian brought a large number of fierce iconoclasts from the borders of Armenia—Paulicians, Manichæans, and Monophysites. Disunion and hatred were introduced into the empire. Iconoclasm awakened the consciousness of the Eastern Church to a sense of its independence. For the first time in centuries the emperors found themselves face to face with a determined opposition. The Church

RESULTS OF
THE MOVE-
MENT.

¹ Latin Christianity, ii, 296 (N. Y., 1877). On the other hand, Archbishop Trench is too severe when he says, "Had the iconoclasts triumphed when their work showed itself at last in its true colors it would have proved to be a triumph, not of faith in an invisible God, but of frivolous unbelief in an incarnate Saviour" (Medieval Church History, p. 101). There is no evidence of this. It is said, indeed, by the orthodox historians that the iconoclasts substituted for the images of Christ and the saints in the churches those of beasts, birds, flowers, scenes from revelry and from the chase, that the monasteries were turned into inns and taverns, and that the monks were compelled to marry and even to dance publicly in the circus, locked in the embrace of women of ill fame. But as to how far this was true we do not know, and the representations of these writers must be taken with more than one grain of salt.

was awakened from its Erastian sleep. If, as Stokes says, the Saracens had conquered the empire, while the Church was in that state, Christianity might have been utterly extinguished. But a new spirit came into the hearts of men when they heard such unwonted words as those of the venerable Germanus: "Without the authority of a general council the faith cannot be changed;" and those of Pope Gregory II: "Church doctrines are not the business of emperors, but of bishops. Just as they ought not to mingle in the affairs of the State, so ought not the others to interfere in ecclesiastical matters."

Iconoclasm had a perceptible influence on art. It turned the attention of artists from the crude pictures of Christ, the Virgin, and the saints, on which the artistic impulse had expended itself, to the production of decorative effects. It threw art back upon its own resources, and was a means of stimulating to nobler efforts. What appeared to be a setback was really an inspiration.¹

It remains only to notice the controversy in the Western Church. Rome, leaving the safe middle ground of Gregory the Great, was committed to image worship. Not so the more practical Franks. Constantine Copronymus strove to unite the Frankish and Eastern Churches on this matter. Pepin held a council at Gentilly in 767, which maintained the ground of the first Gregory, that "Images

of saints wrought or painted for the ornament and beauty of churches might be endured, so that they were not had for worship, veneration, and adoration, which idolaters practice." Pope Adrian sent the decrees of the spurious ecumenical council of 787 to Charles the Great, but they met with no hospitable reception. The Caroline Books uttered the protest of Charles the Great. This is the most masterly treatise of the whole controversy. It was composed partly by Alcuin and partly by Charles the Great. It maintained a middle ground, being equally opposed to the iconoclasts and the image worshipers. Its great thought was: Images are for memorials, not for worship. It argues with telling force against all kinds and degrees of image worship.² This remarkable book was followed by another protest in

¹ Reber, *Hist. of Mediæval Art* (N. Y., 1886), pp. 92-97.

² The *Libri Carolini* were first mentioned by Archbishop Hincmar, of Rheims, in the ninth century. The reformers quoted the book against Rome, and this fact led Baronius and Bellarmine to doubt its genuineness. But Sirmond and Natalis, Alexander, both Catholics, proved that it emanated from Charles the Great or his theologians. Floss (Roman Catholic), of Bonn, in 1860, revived the doubts of Bellarmine, but since the discovery by Reifferscheid in 1866 of a new manuscript of the tenth century in the Vatican Library all such doubts are at rest. "The genuineness of the *Libri Carolini*,"

794. The great council of Frankfort was attended by delegates from France, Germany, England, Lombardy, and two delegates from Rome. Charles the Great was the president and Aleuin the leading spirit. It declared against all "adoration and service of images."¹ The Frankish Church of the ninth century kept itself true to this opposition. The council of Paris, 824, confirmed that of Frankfort, and in the *Chronicon* of Odo, Archbishop of Vienna, the second Nicene council is expressly called a false synod, on account of its decrees concerning image worship. With the exception, therefore, of a voice here and there, the whole transalpine Church took ground directly opposed to that of Rome and the East.

says Hefele, "is hereafter no longer to be questioned" (*Conciliengeschichte*, iii, 698). This is the position of Alzog (*Ch. Hist.*, ii, 219). Buchanan, in Smith and Wace, i, 405, does not notice the work of Reifferscheid.

¹ Mansi, xiii, 909.

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CHAPTER X.

THE RISE OF ISLAM.

"ABOUT this time the false prophet Mohammed, of whom we have spoken before, died, and was buried in hell."¹

In these words a Benedictine monk sums up the inveterate hatred of the mediæval Church for one whom a true instinct taught her was her worst foe. For never was a religion more perfectly fitted, both in its elements of good and evil, to counteract and destroy Christianity among the Semitic people. An attempt has recently been made, prompted by a generous feeling, to reconsider the relations of Christianity to Islam, and to prove that Islam is the friend and ally of the Church. R. Bosworth Smith, in some eloquent and scholarly lectures, has plainly set forth this view.² So it might seem to an optimistic student of the closet. But it has never so seemed to those who have faced the sword of Mohammed.

Mohammed was born in Mecca in 569 or 570.³ He was the only son of Abdallah and Amina, of honorable parentage, in the illustrious tribe of Koreish. His father died two months before the birth of Mohammed, and Sprenger attributes the nervous and epileptic temperament of the son to the shock which this bereavement gave the widow. Mohammed's mother died when he was seven years of age, and he was brought up by his rich uncle, Abu Taleb. At the age of twenty-five he entered the service of MOHAMMED'S
EARLY LIFE. Cadijah, a wealthy widow of Mecca, and his commercial shrewdness so pleased that lady that a road was opened to her affections, and they were married. He was now twenty-eight. Twelve years passed before he received his alleged prophetic mission. These years he gave to his business and to religious meditation and study. He was wont to repair with his wife to the cave of Hira for prayer, and here his anxious vigils were followed by trances, visions, and convulsive fits. In one of these the angel Gabriel appeared to him and communicated the new faith. There is no reason to doubt that Mohammed was perfectly sincere that in the epileptic visions he had received a divine message. As Stobart well says, "We shall see in

¹ Mat. West., ch. xi, ap. A. D. 669. The real date of Mohammed is 632.

² Mohammed and Mohammedanism. New ed., 1890.

³ The date is uncertain. Weil places it in 571. The traditions differ, and scholars are not agreed. See note by Smith in his ed. of Gibbon, v, 206.

him the picture of a soul at first honestly searching for the light amid ecstatic visions of heaven and hell, under conviction of the unity of God and of his beneficent kindness, and, persuaded that the raging fire and the pit were for those whose balances were not heavy with good deeds,¹ believing in the future judgment of the one righteous God² and in the fate of those nations which rejected the Lord. Amid such visions and fancies, groping his way to a purer faith, he at length comes to believe that the trances and mental paroxysms which drove him to meditate suicide³ were the workings of the same God who in ages past had inspired their other messengers, and now had selected him for the same high office."⁴

His first convert was his faithful wife, Cadijah. His bosom friend, Abu Bekr, received the faith, as did his adopted son, Ali, the latter in these ominous and characteristic words: "Prophet, I am the man; whosoever rises against thee I will dash out his teeth, tear out his eyes, break his legs, rip up his belly. O Prophet, I will be thy vizier over them." Nothing could now prevent Mohammed from the public preaching of his message in Mecca, the heart of the Arabian idolatry. When his uncle and benefactor, Abu Taleb, tried to dissuade him, the brave fanatic replied, "Spare your remonstrances; if they should place the sun on my right hand and the moon on my left they should not divert me from my course." His converts increased among his own family and friends and among

the poor of Mecca. The family of the Koreish, the traditional priestly guardians of the sacred stone, the Caaba, took offense. "The hope of their gains was gone." A long-established priesthood, pecuniarily interested, are bad enemies. They pursued Mohammed relentlessly. He was under an interdict for three years. He changed his bed every night, to avoid the assassin. He kept outside of Mecca, venturing into the city only during the holy seasons. He found that he must give up the idea of making Mecca the center of the regenerated faith of Arabia. The opposition was too strong and the risk too great. His death was resolved on. The only alternative left was flight. In 622 he made his escape to Medina, not without providential deliverance, as the legends say,⁵

¹ Korán, Sura ci, 1-3.

² Sura xev.

³ He was about to throw himself from Mount Thubeir, but was arrested by a voice from heaven. See Muir, ii, 84.

⁴ Islam and its Founder, p. 65.

⁵ While sleeping in a cave at night the spider spun its web over the entrance. A brood of wood pigeons, undisturbed, seemed to show that he was not within. A later legend says that a tree grew up before the entrance of the cave, at the command of the prophet (Weil, p. 79). "There are many that fight against us," said the fearful Abu Bekr, who shared his flight, "and we are but two." "No," said Mohammed, "there is a third—it is God."

and thus began the era of the Hegira or Flight, the beginning of the Mohammedan chronology.¹

The later life of Mohammed is soon told. He was received with enthusiasm at Medina. He began to lead marauding expeditions against the merchant caravans of Mecca. He now became the prophet warrior of the Arabs. He professed to receive communications urging war upon the idolaters.² With the taste of blood his nature, as well as his religion, underwent a change. He attacked the Meccan caravan at Badr, 623, and overthrew it. The prisoners he slaughtered in cold blood, God granting the necessary justification in a revelation.³ Another revelation divided one-fifth of the booty to the prophet, the rest to "those who had fought and those who had stayed under the ensign."⁴ Mohammed was less successful at Mount Ohud, but his enemies had to raise the siege of Medina, 625, and leave him to his uninterrupted career of conquest. He next captured some Jewish tribes, and ordered their male prisoners to death and their women and children into slavery. SUCCESS OF
MOHAMMED. Eight hundred were slaughtered in cold blood, and this prophet of the "All-Merciful," as he calls God, could witness this slaughter of defenseless prisoners not only without pity, but with fierce denunciation on the heads of the unfortunates, a "deed comparable in its atrocity to the massacre at Melos,⁵ and to the act of that sanguinary wretch who directed the blood bath of Stockholm."⁶ In 629 or 630 he captured Mecca, and in the latter year, through the great battle of Taif, became master of all Arabia. He consolidated his religion and gave further laws, and on June 8, 632, died in Mecca, on the lap of Ayesha.⁷

Mohammed had a strangely mixed character. Amiable, faithful to friends, tender in his family relations, extremely simple in his

¹ The exact day is uncertain. It "properly commenced sixty-eight days before the flight of Mohammed, with the first of Moharram, or first day of that Arabian year, which coincides with Friday, July 16, A. D. 622," Gibbon, ch. i, note 118. Stobart says he fled from the Cave of Waur on June 20, and arrived at Medina June 28 (p. 134). Milman makes the era of flight April 19 (ii, 622); Caussin de Perceval, June 18 or 19; Weil, September 20. The first month of the flight was April, 622. "The day of the flight itself is the 18th or 19th of June, 622, but the Mohammedans reckon from the beginning of the first Mohammedan month of the year (1st Moharram) in which the flight took place, that is, 15th or 16th July, 622" (Moeller, Church Hist., Middle Ages, 1893, p. 5, note).

² Koran, Sura viii, 68-76.

³ See Koran, Sura ii, 190, 214; xvii, 4-5.

⁴ Sura viii.

⁵ Thucydides, v, 11.

⁶ Stobart, p. 165; Muir, iii, 277.

⁷ The Christian mediæval chroniclers say that he met death by being torn to pieces by swine when rolling in an epileptic fit on a dunghill. Math. of Westm., ch. xi, ap. A. D. 622; Math. Paris (Giles), p. 27.

domestic life, he was also deeply religious, according to his standard. He had the poetic temperament of the Arabian, and with that a melancholia which bordered on frenzy. Neither he nor his most intimate followers doubted for a moment the reality of his divine call, and his superstitious belief in omens and dreams is another reason for abandoning the old notion that he was a conscious impostor. On the other hand, he was "deceitful, cunning, cowardly, revengeful, sensual, and a murderer." He allowed four wives to each of the faithful, but he himself had eleven and several slave girls, the additional indulgence being protected by a special revelation in the Koran.

MOHAMMED'S
CHARACTER.

CHAPTER XI.

PRINCIPLES AND RESULTS OF MOHAMMEDANISM.

THE principles of Mohammedanism were a combination of Judaism, Christianity, and the old Arabian religion, with striking original features. The prophet was often thrown among Jews and Christians, but his knowledge of Christianity was from apocryphal and secondhand sources, and discolored by the bad influences of the wretched Church of the Orient. The strength and glory of Mohammedanism was, and is, its promulgation of the doctrine of the unity of God. With that great idea Mohammed shattered the idolatries of Arabia, and elevated the religious worship of vast sections of the world. Moses and the Old Testament worthies, according to Mohammed, were real prophets of God; and preeminently so was Jesus Christ, born miraculously and the worker of miracles—an honor Mohammed disclaimed—who himself pointed to Mohammed, and whose work Mohammed took up and fulfilled; Christ was a man only. There will be a resurrection of the body and a final judgment of all men; all believers, through whatsoever straits, will finally get into paradise, and all unbelievers will go straight to hell; predestination is taught in its baldest form: "God misleadeth whom he pleases, and guideth whom he pleases aright;" "He created man upright, and then caused him to be the vilest of the vile;" "The fate of every man is bound about his neck;" "If thy Lord had pleased he had made all men of one religion, but unto this hath he created them, for the word of the Lord shall be fulfilled, Verily I will fill hell altogether with men and genii."¹

It is this unconditional submission to God's decree that has given a name, Islam,² to the faith. The delights of heaven will be both sensual and spiritual, according to the aptitudes and desires of the faithful. The practical duties of Islam are prayer, alms, fasting, and pilgrimage. Circumcision and other laws similar to those among the Jews are in force. Emanuel Deutsch has claimed, in-

¹ See Sura vi, 123, 125, 127; vii, 179, 186; x, 98; xi, 119; xiii, 29, 34; xiv, 21; xvi, 25, 93, *et al.*

² Islam is derived from Salem, "peace," and means to make peace, to obtain immunity, by submission to a superior.

deed, that Islam is largely a transfusion of Judaism into Arabian forms. "It is not merely parallelisms, reminiscences, allusions, technical terms, and the like, of Judaism, its lore and dogma and ceremony, its Halacha and its Haggadah, its Law and Legend, which we find in the Koran; but we think Islam neither more nor less than Judaism as adapted to Arabia—plus the apostleship of Jesus and Mohammed. Nay, we verily believe that a great deal of such Christianity as has found its way into the Koran has found it through Jewish channels."¹ No doubt some of the best parts of his teaching the prophet derived, directly or indirectly, through the Jews, though he personally treated them with great harshness. The Koran brands injustice, avarice, pride, debauchery, and other sins, while it exalts piety, submissiveness before God, benevolence, liberality, and decency.

But the principles of Mohammedanism have a darker side. There is, first, polygamy. The faithful are limited to four wives, but are not restricted as to the number of concubines and female slaves.² Freeman has correctly said that this has undoubtedly proved one of the greatest and most fearful evils of the Mohammedan system.³ It has destroyed the family throughout the East, hardened the tone and sapped the vigor of the upper classes, and led to intrigue, revolution, and murder in the State.⁴ In fact, the number of

THE EVILS OF
MOHAMMEDAN-
ISM.

wives is practically unlimited, as the Koran allows an almost unchecked power of divorce and exchange.⁵ Islam is true to its Eastern origin in the virtual slavery and degradation to which women are consigned. Christianity sprang from the East, but we are in another world when we consider its teachings in regard to women. The Mohammedan "may repudiate his wives without any assigned reason and without warning; may, if apprehensive of disobedience, rebuke, imprison, and strike them," and against this the dishonored spouse has almost no means of redress."⁷ Thus it happens that good Mohammedans have a new

¹ Art Islam, in the Quarterly Review, October, 1869, reprinted as an appendix to R. Bosworth Smith, Mohammed and Mohammedanism, p. 290. The Jews themselves strongly opposed the prophet, and would even have preferred idolatry to his system. See Lane, Selections from the Koran, p. xi. Maulvi Tayyid Amir, Life of Mohammed, p. 77. Bate, Studies in Islam, p. 217, and note. Sprenger in Zeits. f. deutsche morgenland. Gesellschaft, 1875, p. 655. Geiger, Was hat Mahomed aus dem Judenthum aufgenommen? Bonn, 1833. Neander, iii, 86. ² Sura iv, 3; lxx, 30. ³ Hist. of the Saracens, p. 53.

⁴ Muir, The Koran, p. 60; Life of Mohammed, ii, 140, note; iii, 305.

⁵ Sura iv, 18; Stobart, Islam and its Founder, p. 150.

⁶ Sura iv, 28.

⁷ Stobart, p. 51. This work, by an expert, is written with rare impartiality. Its author is principal of La Martinière College, Lucknow.

wife every two or three months, and even young men have been known to have had twenty and thirty wives.¹ The social degradation of a legal system of this kind is unspeakable.

The concubine system has fastened slavery to Islam with strong bonds.² Early Christianity did not make war on Roman slavery, but it ameliorated and finally abolished it. SLAVERY.

But Islam makes slavery a part of itself. Immense numbers of girls are sold every year in the Mohammedan markets,³ and still the Moslem leads the bloody track through Africa to the infinite shame of the world. Cardinal Lavigerie died fighting this gigantic wrong.

A third blot on Islam is its obligation to make war against unbelievers. With idolaters, the fighting men are to be slain, the women and children reduced to slavery; with Jews and Christians, a limited tolerance, with tribute, is allowed upon submission. "O true believers, wage war against such of the infidels as ISLAM'S TENETS are near you, and let them find severity in you and OF WAR. know that God is with them that fear him."⁴ At first prisoners were to be slain; afterward their ransom was made lawful.⁵ Unbelievers are to be slaughtered until all opposition has ceased.⁶ "Woe to the Mussulman who stays by his fireside instead of going to war; he cannot escape death, for the term of his life is fixed. Does he fear the burning heat of the combat? The infernal regions are hotter than the heats of summer." "Paradise is before you, behind you the flames of hell."⁷ The Koran has bequeathed to mankind, as Milman remarks, the "legacy of implacable animosity." This is the damnable blot of Islam. With all its noble features, this has made it a curse and a scourge.

The Bible of Islam is the Koran, claiming to be the direct dictation of God. It has many beautiful and lofty passages, but vast tracts are infinitely wearisome. Carlyle said that THE KORAN. to read it through was impossible except to a believer. Lane, an

¹ The best discussion of woman in Mohammedanism is Bate, *Studies in Islam*, Lond., 1884, pp. 247-291. He gives abundant references. See also Muir; Burckhardt, *Bedouins and Wahabys*, 110-115, 270-280; Arabia, i, 402, *et al.*; Palgrave, *Central and Eastern Arabia*, ii, 214, 233. Palgrave speaks of the viceroy marrying on trial, so to say, every fortnight, and every fortnight securing a new divorce; all according to the strictest forms of Mohammedan law. Mohammedan writers point to the shameful haunts of Christian cities as entirely absent in Islam. But what excuse is there, with such a system as the above?

² Sura iv, 28.

³ Burckhardt, *Arabia*, i, 218; Bate, *Studies in Islam*, 298.

⁴ Sura ix.

⁵ Sura viii, 66-69.

⁶ Sura xlvii, 4-7.

⁷ Duruy, *Middle Ages*, p. 84; Stobart, pp. 192, 193, 226; Muir, *The Koran*, p. 57; Milman, *Latin Christianity*, ii, 142-148.

accomplished Arabic scholar and enthusiast in Arabic culture, confessed that the reading of it was "extremely tiresome."¹ Lake professed to have read it through, though this unwonted feat did not serve to make his book the more accurate.² Rodman has arranged its chapters (suras) chronologically. At the beginning are rhapsodic and incoherent poems. Then follow the theology and laws of Islam, with historic notices, many repetitions, and much vague and useless matter. The authority of the Koran is absolute, whether in science, polity, or religion. The several revelations were put together by Zeid, the prophet's amanuensis, a final and accurate text was made, and this text has reached us in an absolutely correct form, with no variations whatever.³ This publication of the authoritative text was done in the reign of Othman, 644-656.

¹ *Modern Egyptians*, i, 382; see Bate, p. 211, note.

² Lake, *Islam, its Origin, Genius, and Mission*, Lond., 1878. Bate pointed out several errors.

³ What variations of text exist are almost entirely confined to vowel forms and diacritical points. Muir, *The Koran*, p. 39. On the inspiration of the Koran, see Robson, *The Bible, its Revelation, Inspiration, and Evidence*, Lond., 1888, pp. iv, v. The two best books on the Koran are Sir W. Muir, *The Koran, its Composition and Teaching, and the Testimony it bears to the Holy Scriptures*, Lond., 1878; and Weil, *Einführung in den Koran*, Rielefeld and Leipz., 1878. See an admirable article by T. P. Hughes in the *Andover Review*, May, 1888, 466, ff.

CHAPTER XII.

THE SPREAD OF MOHAMMEDANISM.

THE wide and sudden propagation of Islam is one of the phenomena of history. Under Othman, Persia was subdued and the Moslem sway extended as far as the Oxus. Jerusalem surrendered in 637. In 638 all Syria was annexed to the caliphate. The great conqueror Omar (Amru) also conquered Egypt, 641, and, according to later chronicles, burned the great library of Alexandria.¹ In 672 the Mohammedans began their fateful attacks on Constantinople, keeping up the siege for seven years, and renewed the war with mightier force in 717. But both attempts were thwarted by the Greek fire. Hassan brought under the whole African coast by the conquest of Carthage, 698. In 711 the Saracens crossed the Straits of Hercules, subjugated the Visigothic kingdom, and descended into France. "This was a solemn moment in the history of the world. The question was decided in the famous plains between Tours and Poitiers, where the powerful Austrasian infantry of Charles Martel, like a wall of iron, resisted the fiery horsemen of Arabia, of Syria, and of Magrib (732)."² Thus

ISLAM'S CAP-
TIVE OF CON-
QUEST.

¹ The tendency is to discredit this story. Humboldt says it is a myth (Cosmos, ii, 592). Adams says it is now disbelieved (note to Dureau, *Medieval History*, p. 37, who claims that it has not been proved). Gibbon is "strongly tempted" to the same unbelief (chap. i, vol. v, p. 357). There is room to doubt, yet the report is strongly substantiated. Several Mohammedan writers have confirmed the report of Abul-Pharajius : Macrisi, cited by White, *Egyptiaca*, pp. 56, 65; Abdollatif, *Hist.*, 115; Ibn Chaledun; and Hadschi Chalfa. See Von Hammer, *Geschichte der Assassinen*, p. 17, who, with White, St. Martin, de Sacy, and other eminent orientalisks, accepts the received tradition of the burning of the library. Matter does the same in his *Hist. de l'École d'Alexandrie*, i, 342. See Milman, note to Gibbon, as above. Charles Mills, in the first ed. of his *History of Mohammedanism*, adhered to the views of Gibbon, but on further investigation among Arabic and other authorities changed his mind in the second ed., and said that the evidences for the burning could not be resisted. See the subject discussed by Eate, *Studies in Islam*, pp. 230-232. The Mohammedan writers bring a similar charge against Count Bertren of St. Gilles, a crusader: who ordered the whole contents of the first room of the great library at Tripoli—this room containing nothing but the Koran—to be burned, as the works of the false prophet. The whole library is said to have contained three million volumes. See Wilken, *Gesch. der Kreuzzüge*, ii, 211.

² Dureau, *Middle Ages*, p. 90.

from the Indus to the Pyrenees lay the Moslem empire. Like the Germans, they settled in their conquered countries, and refashioned them after their Eastern and Moslem civilization.

The cause of this marvelous success was twofold: the exhaustion, degeneracy, and feebleness of Europe and Asia, weakened by wars and bitter internecine and sectarian strife, and the valorous enthusiasm of the Arabs, borne onward by religious fanaticism and the greed of the spoil. Among the Christians imperial centralization, extortion, and ecclesiastical persecution had so smothered patriotism that the Moslems were in some cases almost welcomed, though few became actual converts. Superior leadership was also an element in this success.¹

¹See Andrews, *Institutes of General History*, ch. vii, §5; Milman, *Lat. Christianity*, ii, 165; Hallam, *Middle Ages*, i, 593; Draper, *Intellectual Development of Europe*, i, 337.

CHAPTER XIII.

RELATION OF ISLAM TO THE CHURCH.

THE effect on the Church of the Moslem uprising is seen in the flickering and apologetic existence of the Churches in every land touched by the foot of the Mohammedan. The Church has never been itself again in any land thus permanently possessed. Islam favored the heretic sects, perhaps, more than the orthodox. The Nestorians, the Copts, and the Jacobites EFFECTS OF ISLAM ON THE CHURCH. have kept up their organizations, but the privileges of the Christians have been so abridged that the Church has never held up its head in the East.¹ Another effect was the "transmutation of Christianity into a religion of war." Though there had been local strifes before, never yet had the whole Church felt called upon to appeal to the sword. Now its very existence made necessary the baptism of the sword. Hence followed in due time the first Christian aggressive wars in history, the Crusades. All the blackest crimes and passions—for war stands for these—must be invoked. This was the awful ordeal forced on Christianity by Islam in order to protect its faith, its lands, and its homes.² A third result was the consolidation of the papal power. The patriarchates in Asia were swept away or so enfeebled that they could no longer assert themselves. Rome and Constantinople alone remained, facing each other like two enraged lions. Rome, secure in her *orbis terrarum*, arose still higher on the ruins of the East, and every stroke of the Moslem sword cut a way for her advance.

The question of the value of Mohammed's work, and the proper attitude of the Church toward this religion, has been hotly contested. There was not much that was original in his message. The Koreish charged Mohammed with taking his doctrine from the Asatyr of the Ancients, a book several times quoted in the Koran. A great monotheistic prophet had already arisen in Arabia, in Qoss, who had preached a purer faith at the fair of Okatz. So also did Omayyah of Tayef anticipate the purer elements of the prophet's message. Zayd was another forerunner. Sprenger has admirably expressed the facts. He says that all the leading men

¹ For the disabilities of the Christians, see Milman, ii, 159.

² See some excellent remarks on this point in Milman, ii, 169.

among Mohammed's converts during the first six years had "held the tenets which form the basis of the religion of the Arabic prophet long before he preached them. They were not his tools, but his constituents. He clothed the sentiments which he had in common with them in poetical language, and his malady gave divine sanction to his oracles. Even when he was acknowledged as the messenger of God, Omar had as much influence on the development of Islam as Mohammed himself. He sometimes attempted to overrule the convictions of these men, but succeeded in very few instances. Islam is not the work of Mohammed, it is not the doctrine of the impostor; it embodies the faith and sentiments of men who for their talents and virtues must be considered as the most distinguished of their nation, and who acted under all circumstances so faithfully to the spirit of the Arabs that they must be regarded as their representatives. Islam is therefore the offspring of the spirit of the times, and the voice of the Arabic nation. It is this which made it victorious, particularly among nations whose habits resemble those of the Arab, like the Berbers and Tartars. There is, however, no doubt that the impostor had defiled it with his immorality and perverseness of mind, and that most of the objectionable doctrines are his." Leaving out the use of the word *impostor*, the conclusions of this eminent investigator are thoroughly reliable, and are borne out by nearly all impartial scholars.¹

By its monotheism and better laws Mohammedanism has, no doubt, brought many people to a higher civilization than fetichism and crude idolatry. But its Koran has stereotyped some of the most vicious provisions, and has doomed the Islamic nations to semibarbarism. The intellectual achievements of the Arabs had no vital connection with the principles of progress, so that all the brilliant display passed away, leaving the people inert and dead.² How to convert the Mohammedan is a knotty problem in missions. For it is evident that we cannot rest in the conclusion of Smith, that Islam is divinely intended to be the religion of the East,³ nor be discouraged by the

¹ Mohammed, p. 174.

² Compare Krehl, *Das Leben des Mohammed*, Leipz., 1834, p. 28; Kuenen, *Volkreligion und Weltreligion*, pp. 14, 37, f.; Wellhausen, art. Mohammed in *Encyc. Brit.*, 9th ed.; Smith, note to Gibbon, v, 214, 215; Scott, *Curr. Dis.*, iii, 167.

³ For a very favorable account of the Arab civilization, see Draper, *Intellectual Development of Europe*, ii, 30-53; Bate's remarks on the same, *Studies in Islam*, pp. 218-247.

⁴ Mohammed and Mohammedanism, p. 259.

reproaches of Isaac Taylor, that Christian missions among the Moslems have entirely failed, while Islam itself keeps on its conquering march, winning more converts in Africa in a year than Christianity wins in a decade.¹

As we write these words fresh reports reach us of more unspeakable outrages of the Turks in Armenia. These nations cannot rest forever under the blighting load of Islam with its lust and cruelty. The alleged truth for which Islam stands is the pledge that God will yet redeem the "great antagonistic creed" from its dark and debasing elements.²

¹ Taylor, in an address before the Church Congress at Wolverhampton, in England, 1887. See the "Debate on Islam" in the *Andover Rev.*, January, 1888, pp. 80-86; "The Great Missionary Failure," by Taylor, in the *Fortnightly Rev.*, October, 1888, p. 448, ff. This article and the address led to a voluminous discussion in the reviews and periodicals on the success of modern missions, and especially of missions among the Moslems.

² A brilliant and profound analysis of Islam in its relation to Christianity and civilization is given by Starbuck in the *Andover Rev.*, July, 1892, p. 58, ff. Compare Hughes, *Missions to Muslims*, in *Andover Rev.*, 1888, 1-18, excellent suggestions by an eminent authority. Wesley, taking a sufficiently pessimistic view of Islam (*Works*, Lond. ed., vi, 278; ix, 215, 216), yet says: "I have no authority from the word of God to judge them that are without, nor do I conceive that any man living has a right to sentence all the heathen and Mahometan world to damnation" (vii, 353).

CHAPTER XIV.

THE DIVISION BETWEEN THE EASTERN AND WESTERN
CHURCHES—THE ATTEMPT AT REUNION.

THE iconoclastic dispute is enough to prove how widely apart the East and West were drifting, and how grave and irreconcilable were the points of discord. They had, indeed, been growing apart for centuries. The very type of mind in the East as contrasted with the West was an element of separation. The East was contemplative, metaphysical, hair-splitting; the West was practical, legal, progressive. This difference of temperament was not in itself a sufficient cause of the separation, but, intensified by time, it was ample to overcome the natural bonds of sympathy, and thus prevent each from seeing the other's point of view.¹

The first element of difference was doctrinal. Originally, this chiefly centered around the doctrine of the Holy Spirit's procession from the Father—the Filioque controversy. The Nicene creed ran simply, "I believe in the Holy Ghost." At the second general council, that at Constantinople (381), this clause was added, "who proceedeth from the Father."² The third general council, at Ephesus (431), ordered that it should not be lawful to make any additions to the creed. Some of the Western fathers, however, taught that the Spirit proceeds from the Son as well as from the Father. The Filioque clause had been in fact introduced into the creed in Spain and France, and recited in the churches. The popes did not at first favor this. Pope Leo III (795-816) censured this departure from the original form, and, in order to emphasize the importance of the exact words of the true creed, caused the creed of Constantinople to be engraved on silver plates in Greek and Latin, and thus to be publicly displayed in the church. Pope Nicholas I (858-867), however, with the true infallible instinct, authorized the addition. For this the West was condemned in 879, at Constantinople, at what the Greeks call the eighth general council. This disregard of the ancient formularies of the Church, which were to them as dear as life, mortally offended the Greeks, and they could hold no communion with a Church which had thus added to the faith.

¹ Tozer, *The Church and the Eastern Empire*, p. 172.

² In accordance with John xv, 26.

At the Council of Florence (1439), convened to compose the differences between the Greeks and the Latins, the doctrine of purgatory was another source of irreconcilable contention. The Roman Church had gone further than the Eastern in its elaboration of this doctrine, which had assumed a crass, crude, and almost brutally materialistic form. The Greek Church was content to say simply that prayers offered in connection with the holy sacrifice of the eucharist would avail for the imperfect dead in helping them to a blessed resurrection.¹ It rejected entirely the Roman idea of penal suffering after death for any who died in Christ.

There were also differences as to discipline. The Roman Church had been inclining more and more to a false asceticism in regard to marriage. In the second Trullan council (691 or 692) it was ordered that married persons might be ordained as priests, deacons, and subdeacons, and that, if married, they should not be obliged to separate from their wives. The Roman Church opposed this decree, and the council more than hinted that the Roman Church dishonored marriage, instituted by God and sanctioned by Christ at Cana.² This council held that the number of valid and binding apostolical canons, so called, was eighty-five, while the Roman Church acknowledged only fifty. The council also condemned the practice of the Western Church in fasting on the Sabbath (Saturday) before Easter. The Greek Church held that the provisions of the apostolic council (Acts xv) were valid for all time, while the Roman Church considered them abolished by the change in the times. This council also held that Christ ought not to be represented in artistic figures in the form of a lamb, which was a common practice in the West. The papal legates subscribed the decrees of this council, but the pope forbade their publication in all the churches of the West.³ There were other points of difference more trivial still. If at the present time we have seen the Church of England shaken to its center over the color and style of clerical garments, the "Eastward position," and other incidents, we need not be surprised that in a barbaric period two sections of the Church were antagonistic over the Latin custom of shaving the priest's beard and of allowing the faithful to eat eggs and cheese during the first week in Lent. The ten commandments could be outraged with impunity by ecclesiastics in both East and West, but the ancient fellowship and intercommunion of the Catholic Church must be broken over the tithing of mint and anise. More serious were the allegations that the

¹ See Longer Catechism of the Holy Orthodox Church, questions 376, 377.

² Neander, iii, 557.

³ Kurtz, § 63, 2.

Latins ordained deacons to be bishops without passing through the order of the priesthood, and that they sacrificed a lamb at Easter, in imitation of the Jews.

The doctrinal and disciplinary differences in themselves were sufficient to rupture the old-time relations even if they had not been aggravated by the fatal stumbling-block, the unparalleled assumptions of the papal autocracy. The second Trullan council¹ (692), a council which claimed to be ecumenical and was recognized as such even by Pope Sergius I, in enumerating the sources of the canon law, omitted almost all the Latin councils and papal decretals. It also repeated and enforced anew the celebrated twenty-eighth canon of Chalcedon (451), which allowed the Patriarch of Constantinople the same authority in the Church as the Patriarch of Rome. But these protests could do little to stem the mighty tide which was bearing the Roman bishops to the leadership of Christendom. As the head of the Church in the eternal city—the center of the world for a thousand years—and as the Patriarch of the West the Bishop of

THE CLAIM OF
ROMAN
SUPREMACY.

Rome had gradually advanced his claims from that of *primus inter pares* of the other bishops to that of supremacy over the whole Church. The East never admitted this claim—a claim which the pope built on his possession of the chair of St. Peter; but circumstances led to an almost virtual acknowledgment on the part of the East.

The Patriarch of Constantinople had nothing to fall back upon but his relation to the court, and had become its creature and its slave. But Rome was upheld by a great religious and historical principle, which, though falsely applied and grossly exaggerated, contained an element of truth, and by a sentiment which, like that of patriotism, may be unreasoning but yet indestructible. The aggressions of the barbarians had only increased the power of the Roman bishop, because he alone stood out amid weak rulers as the representative of a power which, coming from God, never quailed before a foe. And while the East was rent with the most violent controversies, the West went on in comparative quiet in its religious development. "The controversialists," says Kurtz, "sought the mediating judgment of Rome, the oppressed sought its intercession and protection, and, because the Roman bishops almost invariably lent the weight of their intellectual and moral influence to the cause of truth and right, the party in whose favor decision was given almost certainly at last prevailed. Thus Rome advanced from day to day in the eyes of the Christian world, and soon demanded as a

¹ So called because held in the mussel-shaped vaulted hall, Trullus, in the imperial castle at Constantinople.

constant right what personal confidence or pressure of circumstances had won for it in particular cases." A point once gained was never lost. The hierarchical feeling also found a rallying point in the chair of St. Peter. "Thus Rome advanced with firm steps and steady aim, and in spite of all opposition continually approached nearer and nearer the end in view. The East could at last hold on and save its ecclesiastical independence only by a complete and incurable division."¹

The extraordinary pretensions of Rome were reached in a letter by Pope Nicholas I to the Emperor Michael the Stammerer in the Photian controversy. The pope dwelt with unbounded confidence upon the privileges of the holy see, their eternal and unchangeable character, their divine origin, and their absolute independence of all human or even ecclesiastical ordinance. "The Roman Church," he wrote, "encompasses and comprehends within herself all the nations of mankind, she being in herself the universal Church, the mirror and model of that which she embraceth with her bosom. To Peter, and to Peter alone, was committed the command to kill and eat, as in like manner he alone of all the apostles received the divine command to draw to the shore the net full of fishes." Unto us has been committed that identical commission to embrace in our paternal arms the whole flock of Christ."² Nicholas was the first pope to promulgate or formally recognize the forged decretals, and these gave to claims which had before been vaguely and tentatively held the authority of unbroken tradition. These novel and extravagant pretensions formed a deep gulf between the East and the West.

THE LETTER OF
NICHOLAS I
WIDENS THE
BREACH.

Another wedge was the dispute over the sacramental bread in the Lord's Supper. It had been the universal custom to use ordinary (fermented) bread in the eucharist. In the ninth century the Western Church began to use unleavened bread, after the manner of the Jewish passover. This angered the East, and the bigoted and fierce Michael Cerularius, Patriarch of Constantinople, brought home this charge in a letter to Pope Leo IX (1048-1054).

The external events which brought about the rupture are very clear. The Emperor Michael I exchanged the throne for a monastery, (813). His son, Nicetas, a priest and monk, was a man of earnest piety. In 846 this son, who as a monk had taken the name of Ignatius, was made Patriarch of Constantinople through the influence

¹ Ch. Hist., last ed., § 46, A. 2.

² The pope was mistaken here. See John xxi, 10.

³ See this letter in Baronius, ed. Pagi, ann. 867, note to § 4; Greenwood, *Cathedra Petri*; vol. iii, pp. 364-371.

of the empress Theodora. The ruling spirit in the court was Bardas, uncle of Michael, a vicious, unscrupulous, and ambitious man. Bardas came into conflict with Ignatius on several occasions, and chiefly when the patriarch refused him the sacrament on account of a crime charged against him (857). For this Bardas secured the banishment of Ignatius to the island of Terebinthus. A man of eminent ability and character was nominated in his place. This was Photius, the secretary of the emperor and the captain of his bodyguard. He was hurried through all the clerical offices in a week. Ignatius would not sign his abdication, and his followers were treated with brutality. Photius resolved to appeal to Rome to arbitrate the case. The pope Nicholas sent delegates to Constantinople, and said he could not decide until he had learned the state of affairs through them. The legates were bought.

The pope proved himself both a shrewd and a high-minded man. He saw through the shameful proceedings at Constantinople, summoned a synod at Rome (863), declared that Photius had forfeited every spiritual dignity, and pronounced against him the anathema. Photius, on his part, sent circular letters to the Eastern bishops, inviting them to a general council to be held in Constantinople in 867, and accusing the Roman Church of teaching erroneous doctrines and practices to the new Christians of Bulgaria. The quarrel thus assumed both a personal and a doctrinal character. At this council the pope was deposed and anathematized. But with the accession of a new emperor, Basil, in 867, the fatal day was postponed. He had political reasons for a reconciliation with Rome. He therefore restored Ignatius, and called a new council at Constantinople (869), called by the Latins the eighth ecumenical council. This council reinvestigated the whole matter and confirmed Ignatius in his office. Photius and Ignatius at length became fast friends, and at the death of Ignatius, in 878, Photius was made patriarch by the emperor Basil. Another ecumenical council was called at Constantinople (879), the ninth according to the Latins, and the eighth according to the Greeks. It was convened with every guarantee of support of the highest claims of Rome. But these guarantees were laughed at, and the council proceeded as though its members had never heard of the high-sounding instructions of the pope. Then the pope again launched his anathema against the East, and the schism was renewed.

We pass over the intervening disputes and come to the final break in 1054. The high-handed bigot, the Patriarch of Constantinople, Michael Cerularius, closed all the churches in the city where the Latin rites were used. In conjunction with Leo of Achrida, the

metropolitan of the Bulgarians, he addressed an epistle to John, Bishop of Trani, in Apulia, which was also to be sent to the Western clergy and to the pope himself. In this epistle, Lutherlike, he drew up a formal accusation of heresy against the Latin Church. He charged the Latins with the use of unleavened bread in the Lord's Supper—*azyma*—the use of blood and things strangled, and fasting on the Sabbath (Saturday) in Lent, and called on the Western bishops to separate from the see of Rome. After various attempts at reconciliation the papal legates formally laid on the altar of the Church of St. Sophia a sentence of excommunication against the Eastern Church (1054), which Michael Cerularius and the other patriarchs solemnly returned.

THE FINAL
RUPTURE.

The Crusades added fuel to the fire. The Easterns were disgusted with the barbarities and excesses of the Western troops. Especially the iniquitous Crusade (1204), as Tozer says, "produced an ineradicable feeling of animosity in the minds of the Byzantine people. The memory of the barbarities of that time, when many Greeks died as martyrs at the stake for their religious convictions, survives at the present day in various places bordering on the *Ægean*."

Nevertheless many attempts were made toward reunion, and some almost bore fruit. Latin theologians were allowed to argue their case before the Court of Constantinople. Political exigencies led the emperor Michael Paleologus to offer terms of surrender to the pope. At the council of Lyons (1274), the Eastern delegates repeated the creed with the addition of the *Filioque*, and swore to conform to the faith of the Roman Church and to recognize the supremacy of the pope. They were allowed to use the creed without the addition, and to practice their peculiar ecclesiastical customs. The Greeks were thoroughly enraged at these measures, and to bring them to terms the emperor resorted to the usual punishments of these times—punishments which the iconoclastic and Photian disturbances made familiar, such as scourging, mutilation, blinding, and imprisonment. But with the next emperor the Lyons union was thrown to the winds.

ATTEMPTS FOR
REUNION.

At the council of Florence (1439) the last effort was made. The

¹ Neander, iii, 553-586, gives a fair and impartial account. Greenwood, *Cathedra Petri*, vol. iii, pp. 348-423, gives a full history of the Photian schism. See also Milman, bk. v, ch. iv (iii, 21, ff.). The sources will be found in Hardouin, *Concil.*, vols. v, vi; Mansi, xvi; the *Byzantine Historians*, and Baronius. The works of Photius are found in Migne, *Patrol. Græca*, ci-civ. See also Jäger, *Histoire de Photius*, Paris, 2d ed., 1854, and the great monograph by Hergenröther, *Photius*, Regensb., 1867-69. 3 vols.

² The Church and the Eastern Empire, p. 185.

emperor, John VII, Paleologus, went personally with the cultured and able archbishop, Bessarion of Nicæa, and many bishops, to this council, called the eighteenth ecumenical by the Latins. Here everything was at last arranged satisfactorily. The pope was acknowledged as the "successor of Peter, the chief of the apostles, and the vicar of Christ, the head of the whole Church, and father and teacher of all Christians, to whom plenary power was given by our Lord Jesus Christ to feed, rule, and govern the universal Church in such a way as is set forth in the ecumenical councils and sacred canons," which the Greeks interpreted mainly as referring to the canons of Nicæa and Chalcedon, but which the Latins interpreted mainly as referring to the pseudo-Isidorian decretals. In most of the Greek texts of the Florentine articles the parts defining the primacy of the pope are either wanting or essentially modified. It was admitted that the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit as defined by the Greek Church, *ex Patre per Filium*, was really the same as the Latin formula, *ex Patre Filioque*, but the Western doctrine was maintained in the explanation: "The Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and at the same time from the Son, and from both eternally as from one principle and one spiration."

After long disputes the Greeks surrendered also on the doctrines of purgatory and the seven sacraments. On his part the pope, Eugenius IV, promised that ships and men should be provided for the defense of Constantinople against the Turks, and that he would induce the rulers of the West to come to the rescue of the Greeks. The pope, the emperor, and the bishops subscribed to the edict

CONCESSIONS
FOR REUNION
PROVE FUTILE.

amid wild rejoicings and shoutings, July 6, 1438. But once more it was all in vain. The promised supports from the West did not come. The people were bitter against their emperor and the bishops and clergy who favored the union. The churches where these ministered were deserted. On May 29, 1453, Constantinople fell before Mohammed II, and the last emperor, Constantine IX, went down in a brave fight against great odds. Mohammed confirmed the constitution of the Churches, giving the primacy over the whole Eastern Christendom to the Patriarch of Constantinople. Many of the Greeks went into Italy, Hungary, Poland, and other countries, and united with the Roman Catholic Church, or, under the name of the United Greeks, formed churches of their own, being allowed to keep their old liturgy and customs by accepting the Roman doctrine and the papal primacy.

The coming of the Turks has been the curse of Europe, but the final separation between the Eastern and Western Churches has been a providential gain. What would have been the fate of the

world if the Roman absolutism could have bound in its chains all of Europe and Asia it is difficult to say. The moral effect of the great fact that one half of Christendom, ^{THE SEPARATION NOT} possessing the most ancient churches and inheriting ^{WITHOUT GAIN.} the purest traditions, rejected the claims of the papacy was never lost on the world. On the other hand, the East was cut off from those regenerating influences which came from the Teutonic genius, and has become petrified into a cold and cheerless orthodoxy and ceremonialism. The reformation of the Holy Orthodox Church is even more hopeless than that of the Roman Catholic Church."

¹ See Howard, *Schism Between the Orthodox and Western Churches*. Lond., 1892.

CHAPTER XV.

THEOLOGY, WORSHIP, AND LIFE IN THE EASTERN CHURCH.

THE fatal defect of Eastern Christianity was the invasion of the spiritual sphere by the secular arm. The progress of the Church and the development of Christian doctrine were hindered, thwarted, and perverted by the power of the emperor. The influence of the court was the bane of the Church in the East. The corresponding power of the pope at one time in secular affairs was not as pernicious, because the pope was, ostensibly at least, governed by the law of Christ, and was appealed to as often by the poor and down-trodden. The pernicious despotism of the Eastern emperors was well illustrated in the long Monothelite disputes.

To put an end to these disputes the emperor Constans, in 648, published a new religious edict, the 'Type.' It declared that an end must come to all controversy over the question of one or two wills in Christ, and that the Church should settle down to the state in which it was before these discussions arose, no person being allowed to advocate either of the theories. No one should be stigmatized as a heretic on account of them. The clergy who disobeyed this edict should be deposed, the monks banished, persons in office should forfeit their places, and those in the lower ranks should be flogged or mutilated and then banished. Pope Martin I (649-653) was the pillar of the Anti-Monothelites. As a devout and conscientious prelate he could not be silent. He called a general council at Rome (649) which condemned both the Ekthesis and the Type, and established the doctrine of the two wills, the human and the divine in Christ, and condemned all who held otherwise. This enraged the emperor. He sent to Rome, had the pope arrested, and deposed him from his bishopric, on the ground that when elected he had not obtained the imperial consent, and carried him in chains to Constantinople.

MARTYRDOM
OF POPE
MARTIN I.

After innumerable indignities and sufferings he was arraigned for trial before a court which had condemned him beforehand. He was sentenced to perpetual banishment, was transported to Chersonesus in the Crimea, arriving there May 15, 655, and, after enduring many privations and insults

Ὁ τόπος περὶ πίστιος. The text of the Type will be found in Mansi, x, 1030.

with the heroic constancy and piety of a true saint, he died September 16, 655.¹ This was the first and only time that a pope was dethroned and virtually martyred by the Eastern emperor. It left a bitter memory in the mind of Western Christendom.

Another instance of this vicious despotism, which reminds one of that of Henry VIII of England, was in the case of the great theologian Maximus, the true successor of the three Cappadocians,² and one of the brightest lights of the Eastern Church. He had defended with acuteness the doctrines of the two natures and two wills in Christ, and, on account of his activity against the Monothelites, was twice tried and banished. In 662 he was publicly scourged through the streets of Constantinople, his tongue was cut out, his right hand cut off, and he was banished to the castle of Shemari, on the eastern shore of the Black Sea, where he soon died, August 13, 662.

There were diverse currents affecting the theology of the Eastern Church. One of these was the sound and healthy teaching represented by Maximus. To him Christianity was the golden mean between the narrowness of Judaism and the breadth of paganism. The incarnation was the end of the whole creation. God became man without change of his own essence or of human nature. The end of redemption was twofold, to save man from sin and to lift him up to an unchangeable divine life. Life in believers is ever taken up into union with Christ and permeated with the principle of his divine life.

The relation between reason and faith is luminously expressed by Maximus in this passage: "The faculty of seeking after the god-like has been implanted in human nature by its Creator; but it is first enabled to arrive at the revelation by the supervening power of the Holy Spirit. But as this original faculty has, through sin, become suppressed by the predominance of sense, the grace of the Holy Spirit must supervene to restore this faculty to its pristine freedom and purity. We cannot say that grace of itself, alone and independent of the natural faculty of knowledge, communicates to the righteous the knowledge of mysteries; for in that case we must suppose that the prophets understood nothing of what was revealed to them by the Holy Spirit. As little can we suppose that they attained to true knowledge by seeking it with the natural faculty alone; for thus we should make all supervision of the Holy Spirit superfluous. St. Paul's statement that 'The one and the selfsame Spirit, which worketh in all, divideth to every man severally as he

¹ St. Martin's letters are found in Mansi, x, 790, 1170, Jaffé, Regesta, p. 161, and Baronius, ap. ann. 649; his life in Muratori, *Rerum Ital. Scrip.*, iii, p. 1.

² Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, and Gregory of Nyssa.

will,' means that the Holy Spirit wills that which is suited to each individual, so as to guide the spiritual striving of those who are seeking after the godlike to its desired end. Accordingly, the Holy Spirit works not wisdom in the saints without a mind that is susceptible of it; he works not knowledge without the recipient faculty of reason; he works not faith without a rational conviction respecting the future and the invisible; he works not the gift of natural healing without a natural philanthropy; in a word, he produces no charisma without a recipient faculty for each. The grace of the Spirit destroys not the natural faculty, but rather makes that faculty, which has become inapt by unnatural use, once more efficient, by employing it conformably to its nature, when it leads it to the contemplation of the godlike."

In this noble declaration Maximus touches a profound truth: "He who has genuine faith in Christ has within him all the charismata collectively. But since by reason of our inactivity we are far from that active love toward him which unveils to us the divine treasures within our own souls, so we justly believe that we are without the divine charismata. If, according to St. Paul, Christ dwells in our hearts by faith, and in him are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge, then all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge are hidden in our hearts. But they reveal themselves to the heart in the same proportion as the heart becomes pure through obedience to the divine commands."

Like his great master, Gregory of Nyssa, Maximus inclines strongly to the theory of final universal restoration.¹ The orthodoxy of the Greek Church received its final form at the hands of John of Damascus, who had a more legal mind than Maximus but was destitute of his profound spiritual intuitions.

Another current which influenced the theology of the East may be called the mystical element. Its chief representative was the pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite. The earliest mention of this remarkable collection of writings was in the record of a conference between the Monophysite Severians and the orthodox at Constantinople, 533. The latter objected to them. "These so-called works of the Areopagite," they said, "were unknown to Cyril and Athanasius, and if no one of the ancients quoted them how can John establish their truth?" Photius in his *Bibliotheca*, about 845, notices an essay by Theodorus in defense of the "genuineness of the volume (*Bιβλος*) of Saint Dionysius." Among the objections noticed by Theodorus are the following: The Dionysian writings are not quoted by the earlier Fathers;

¹ See Neander, iii, 171-175; Stokes, in Smith and Wace, iii, 884.

they are not mentioned in the catalogues of Eusebius; the growth of Church customs was slow, and it is "against all likelihood, or rather a mere forgery, to represent Dionysius as discussing results reached only a long time after his death;" and these writings quote an epistle of Ignatius, in the time of Trajan—a manifest anachronism. But these valid criticisms produced no effect, and the pseudo-Dionysius was soon received as a genuine work by all the theologians of the Eastern and Western Churches. He even deeply influenced Thomas Aquinas, though his editor exaggerated when he says that the "Angelic Doctor drew almost the whole of his theology out of the works of Dionysius, so that his *Summa* is but the hive in whose varied cells he duly stored the honey which he gathered from them."

The writings of the Areopagite are a strange blending of beautiful teaching, in which there are fine and subtle glimpses of truth and an uncouth and extravagant theosophy. There is a Unity of the three persons, who makes his loving providence to penetrate to the last things of earth, as being the beginning and cause of all things, beyond all beginnings, and enfold-
THEOLOGY OF
THE AREOPA-
GITE.
 ing all things transcendently in his infinite embrace.¹

To be made divine (*ἡ Θεωσις*) is to be made like God, as far as may be, and to be made one with him. This is the common end of every hierarchy, the continuous development of love to God and the things of God, wrought by sacred means in a goodly and simple fashion; and, as a preliminary to this, the complete and unhesitating abandonment of all that is contrary to it, the recognition of things as they are, the right of knowledge, of sacred truth, the goodly participation in the mode of perfectioning, participation in the One himself, as far as may be, the feast of the beatific vision which nourishes intellectually and makes divine everyone who strains aloft to behold it.² He who is the cause of all things, through excess of goodness, loves all things, sustains all things, turns all things to himself."³ Evil, as such, does not exist. All things that exist, so far as they exist, are good and spring from the good; so far as they are deprived of the good they are neither good nor existent.⁴ Robert Browning is quoted by Westcott as giving an echo of this thought:

"There shall never be one lost good! What was, shall live as before.
 The evil is null, is naught, is silence implying sound;
 What was good shall be good, with, for evil, so much good more;
 On the earth the broken arcs, in the heaven a perfect round."⁵

¹ De Cœl. Hier., vii, 4. ² De Eccl. Hier., i, 3. ³ De Div. Nom., iii, 1.

⁴ L. c., iv, 20. Compare with this the teaching of Mrs. Eddy in "Christian Science."

⁵ Abt. Vogler.

The Arcopagite held that man must attain to the divine by initiation into the sacred mysteries, by priestly consecration, and by the six sacraments. The divine birth of baptism has its completion in the consecration of the dead, or anointing of the body. We need not concern ourselves with the historical Christ, but "always with the heavenly Christ; not about the reconciliation, but only about the mystical living fellowship of God and man, about the immediate vision and enjoyment of God's glory." On the Arcopagite's relation to Platonism and Christianity, Westcott well says:

"The progressive revelation of the infinite, the hierarchic triads, the conception of evil as a negation and a defect, the striving toward union with the One, the resolution of all that is partial into being which transcends all special definition, are common to both the Dionysian system and that of the later Neoplatonists. Thus it is not difficult to see that Dionysius so far borrows ideas which had their source elsewhere than in the Christian Church. But while this is conceded most fully his treatment of them nevertheless claims the merit of originality. However devotedly he may have studied Proclus or Damascius, he studied them as a Christian. He starts always from the Bible,¹ and not from Plato. He endeavors to obey his own lesson, and welcomes truth wherever he finds it, but revelation is his touchstone of truth. He is, so to speak, the extreme result of the speculative school of Greek theology; and in this aspect his writings, strangely incomplete, one-sided, even dangerous as they may appear to us, are of deep interest at a crisis when it is impossible not to see the brightest hope for Christendom in a living appreciation of the Greek Fathers; for it is not too much to say that a work remains for Greek divinity in the nineteenth century hardly less pregnant with results than that wrought by the Greek classics in the fifteenth."²

¹ De Cocl. Hier., vi, 2.

² Dionysius the Arcopagite, in *Religious Thought in the West*, Lond., 1891, pp. 143-193, p. 187, originally contributed to *Contemp. Rev.*, May, 1867. See also Coletus, *Super Opera Dionysii*; Two Treatises on the Hierarchies of Dionysius, by Doan Colet, now first published with a transl., introd. and notes by Lupton, Lond., 1869; Meyer, *Dion. Arcop.*, Halle, 1845; F. Hipler, *Dion. der Arcop.*, 1861; Niemeyer, *Dion. Arcop.*, Halle, 1867; Kanakis, *Dion. d. Arcop. nach seinem Character als Philosoph dargestellt*, Leipz., 1881; Möller in *Herzog-Plitt*; Ueberweg, *Hist. of Philosophy*, Lond. and N. Y., 1873, i, 349-352; Dräseke, *Dionysiaka*, in *Zeits. wissenschaftl. Theologie*, 1892, 300, ff; Loofs, in *Theol. Literaturzeitung*, 1894, col. 554, f. Westcott conjectures that the Dionysian writings were composed 480-520, either at Edessa or under the influence of the Edessene school. This date is accepted by most scholars. The excellent ed. of Corderius, *Antw.*, 1634, is reprinted by Migne, Paris, 1857, with additions. The notes of Corderius show the debt of Aquinas to Dionysius.

The divine Maximus, of whom we have spoken above, drank deeply at the Dionysian fountain. So also did another great and noble theologian of the mystic school, Nicolas Cabasilas, Archbishop of Thessalonica, who died about 1354. These and other mystics heartily accepted the dogmas and customs of the Church. Their more spiritual and spiritualizing conceptions of truth could do but little toward preventing the deadening monotony and formalism of the Eastern State Church, with its despotic rigorism and devotion to barren formulas.

An extreme development of this mystical tendency appears in the Hesychasts, or Resting Ones, of the monastery of Mount Athos, in Thessaly. In order to obtain the vision of God the monks would go each to his cell, and, kneeling there in devotion, the chin on the breast, the eyes fixed on the navel, and the breath held as long as possible, would rest thus until an ecstatic joy sprang up in their hearts and a bright light surrounded them. They called themselves the Resting Ones, *ἡσυχάζοντες*, though their great opponent, Barlaam, called them Navel-souls, *ομφαλό-ψυχοι*. They said that the light which rewarded their long contemplation was the heavenly and uncreated light which transfigured our Lord on Mount Tabor. Efforts were made to have them condemned, but in vain. The council of Constantinople (1341) approved the doctrine of uncreated divine light, which, as divine activity, is to be distinguished from the divine essence. Other synods also upheld them.¹

It remains to speak of the heretical current of Eastern theology. A powerful factor for a time was the Paulician heresy. This sect was founded by Constantine, of Mananalis, a community near Samosata, infected with the dualistic virus of Manichæism. Constantine made his appearance as a religious reformer about 660 at Kibossa, in Armenia. He was an intense student of the New Testament, and set out to substitute Pauline Christianity for the falsified Christianity of the Church. But in doing this he could not rid himself of the Eastern conceptions. He opposed the good God to the Creator and Lord of the world. The Old Testament he repudiated as the work of the Demiurge. Baptism and the Lord's Supper are simply symbols of Christ's word and life and are not to be literally observed. Christ did not have a real human body. The Paulicians insisted upon inward piety, but forbade fasting and allowed marriage. Their ecclesiastical constitution was

¹ On the Hesychasts, see J. Cantacuzenus, *Hist.*, Bonn, 1828-32, 3 vols., also in Migne, *Pat. Gr.*, vols. 153, 154; Natal. Alex., *H. E.*, viii, 90; Stein, *Studien über die Hesychasten des xiv Jahrhunderts*, Vienna, 1874.

very simple, rejecting the hierarchy and priesthood, and going back to the simple method of the apostolic times. They rejected all the ceremonies and creature worship of the dominant Church. They urged the study of those parts of the New Testament which they held to be valid.

Constantine went as an evangelist throughout the surrounding country and won converts everywhere. Finally, persecution was hurled against him. He was stoned to death (685), and the imperial officer who carried out the decree was so impressed with the heroism of the martyr that he himself joined the sect, was made their head, and died at the stake in 690. In spite of opposition and internal dissensions the sect grew. Sergius was the second founder (801-835). It is said that a hundred thousand Paulicians lost their lives in Armenia, so determined was the imperial government to root them out. The empress Theodora (1054-56) was the Bloody Mary of this persecution. In 970 the emperor John Tzimiscees transported a remnant of them to Philippopolis, in Thrace, and promised them religious freedom if they would guard the frontiers against the Scythians. They gradually disappeared, emerging, probably, in the Euchites and Bogomili. In the early part of the present century it was reported that there were still Paulicians living at Philippopolis.¹

The Paulicians were not a branch of the Manichæans, as the elder writers used to hold. They were rather an echo of the Marcionite heresy, occasioned by a reaction from the dead ceremonialism of Eastern Christianity, in the interest of a simpler and purer faith, but weighed down with the curse of the dualism of the Orient.²

Related to the Paulicians were the Thondracians, organized by Sembat (833-845), at Thondrake, a town southwest of the Upper Euphrates. He amalgamated the Parsee Gnostic pseudo-Christian sect of the Arevurdi, or Children of the Sun, with some Paulicians, and by a mixture of Christian, Persian, and Manichæan doctrines he became a powerful irritant to the Church. This sect won a notable convert in 1002 in the Armenian bishop, Jacobus, who gave them a more Christian color.

THE THON-
DRACIANS
AND EUCHITES.

¹ Constantine, *Ἐκτερίδιον περὶ τῆς ἱπαρχίας Φιλιπποπόλεως*, Vienna, 1819, p. 27, quoted by Schmidt, in Herzog.

² The original authorities for the Paulicians are Photius, in Gallandi, xiii, 603; Petrus Siculus, ed. by Gieseler, Gött., 1846; Joh. Ozniensia, Opus, ed. by Aucher, Venice, 1834. See Schmidt, *Historia Paulicianorum Orientalium*, Copenh., 1826; Gieseler, *Untersuchungen über die Geschichte der Paulicianer*, in *Stud. u. Krit.*, 1829; A. Lombard, *Paulicianus*, Gen., 1879; Dollinger, *Beiträge zur Sectengeschichte des Mittelalters*, vol. i, München, 1890.

He opposed the Armenian custom of slaying animals as an oblation at the love feasts. The sect was persecuted, but not exterminated.¹

The Euchites were a revival of the ancient Euchites,² who held that prayer—hence the name—was the only means of grace. They were also thoroughly dualistic. God had two Sons, the elder, who created the world, who is to be feared, and the younger, who chose the things of heaven, and is to be loved. All kinds of excesses were charged against the Euchites, but we have no reliable information. They appeared in Thrace in the beginning of the eleventh century.

The Bogomiles,³ in Bulgaria, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, presented a curious medley of dualistic Gnostic Christian teachings. They were an ignorant sect, and reveled in the most extravagant and fantastic doctrines of the fruitful Eastern imagination. The emperor Alexius Comnenus (1081–1118), under pretext of wishing to become a convert, enticed their great leader, Basil, to Constantinople, and there drew from him a full description of their doctrines. A scribe behind a curtain was taking notes of the conversation. The emperor kept Basil in custody, and condemned him to be burned in the Hippodrome (1118). The Bogomile doctrines spread even into Church circles. Two Cappadocian bishops were deposed as adherents in 1143, at a synod in Constantinople.⁴ A wholesome effect of the Bogomile propaganda was the opinion that Catholic baptism was ineffective in itself; that every true Christian becomes such only through instruction, self-denial, and spiritual transformation.

THE BOGOMILES.

It is interesting to notice the persistency of the old Gnosticism in Eastern Christianity. Not one of these sects had any firm grasp on the evangelical principle of faith. They had, therefore, no effect on the transformation of the East. Having no idea of a truly biblical theology they had nothing to save them from being overcome by the vagaries of oriental Gnosticism.

The Greek Christianity of the Middle Ages differed but little from that of to-day. The Greek Church still remains stagnant. As it was in the eighth century so is it in the twentieth. The wor-

¹ Möller (of Kiel), *Ch. Hist., Middle Ages*, p. 238; Chamchcan, *Geschichte von Armenien*, ii, 884.

² Epiph., *Her.*, xxx; Theod., *H. E.*, iv, 11.

³ The name means friends or lovers of God. Some derive it from *Bog*, God, and *Mil*, mercy.

⁴ Enth. Zyg., *Narratio de Bogomilis*, ed. Gieseler, Göt., 1841; also ed. Migne, vol. 128; J. C. Wolf, *Hist. Bogomilorum*, Wittenb., 1712; Razki, *Bogomilii Catareni*, Agram, 1869; Jacobi in *Zeits. f. Kirchengesch.*, ix, 507; Döllinger in *Beiträge zur Sectengeschichte des Mittelalters*, München, 1890, 2 vols.

ship, the monastic system, and the territorial divisions remain as before. The Roman Church has been alert for new worlds to conquer, has adapted itself to new conditions, has thrust out new agencies, and has taken an eager interest in every new political development. The Greek Church has been held in the bonds of a heavy formalism. It has stood guardian over the orthodoxy of the ecumenical councils, and thus escaped the later heresies of Rome. But it has lost the principle of growth. It has looked backward continually. One cause of this has been the icy hand of the State, which has overawed the Church and prevented any free development. Another cause has been the despotic nature of the civil government, which made impossible the free play of forces necessary for the growth of both civil and religious ideas and institutions. A third cause of the stagnation of Eastern Christianity has been the fact that it has been so hemmed in and oppressed by Mohammedan and other hostile influences that it has been thrown back in antagonism, resting on the glory of its history and the strength of its traditional orthodoxy.¹

The worship of the Greek Church is mostly the performance of ceremonies without life or edification. The noble example of St. John Chrysostom was little heeded, and the preaching was barren. Great preaching can only exist with a free pulpit, and the Greek pulpit was in bondage. Psalms and hymns were drawn out with a nasal intonation in a way alike destitute of music and devotional feeling. In the modern Russian Church melody is cultivated, but both in this Church and in the mediæval Eastern Church all instrumental music was, and is, strictly prohibited. There were great hymn writers—Andrew of Crete, John of Damascus, and Cosmas of Jerusalem.

In baptism the necessity of immersion is maintained, ordinary bread is used in the Lord's Supper, and both elements are given to communicants. In these three particulars the Greek Church differs from the Latin. The communion service is celebrated behind a high screen, iconostasis, completely out of view of the congregation. This service is elaborate, and every effort is made to make it mysterious and awe-inspiring. It appeals only to the worshiper's sense of mystery. The confessional, with the corruptions thus ensuing, is absent from the Greek Church.

Harshness and austerity have been pointed out as characteristics of the Greek faith. These even appear in the paintings, which are ghastly and forbidding. Frescoes of gaunt saints and naked

¹ See Tozer, *The Church and the Eastern Empire*, pp. 38, 39.

hermits cover the walls of the churches. "Long as Lent" is a Greek proverb. There are four great periods of fasting in the year, the Fast of the Apostles, originally seven weeks; the August fast of fourteen days, which comes before the Feast of the Repose of the Virgin; the Fast of the Nativity; and Lent. In all two hundred and twenty-six days are observed as fasts, and these fasts are strictly kept, and are very rigorous. Eggs, cheese, milk, meat, and fish are forbidden. All the beautiful ethics of Christ were trampled under foot in the fierce conflicts of Eastern ecclesiasticism, but the self-inflictions of Lent must be duly observed.

AUSTERITY OF
THE EASTERN
CHURCH.

There were men who lifted their voices against the prevailing corruption. Constantine Chrysomalus and Niphon, monks, gathered around them devout souls, who applied themselves to the reformation of manners. The Church hurled anathemas against both. Eustathius, Archbishop of Thessalonica (died 1194), did all in his power to win the Church back to a purer life. He was a Greek scholar, but did not neglect his Bible for his Homer, and his voice was like the note of a clarion for a better Church. These, however, were voices in the wilderness. They did not affect the low level of the ordinary ecclesiastical life.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE CONVERSION OF GERMANY.

UNCERTAINTY
AS TO FOUND-
ERS OF GER-
MAN CHRIS-
TIANITY.

No one knows who first planted Christianity in Germany. Soldiers of the Roman army may have told the story of the cross to the natives, and such seed may have borne fruit. Germans living within the empire may have carried back to their brethren the news of the Gospel. Justin Martyr says that there is no race of Greeks or barbarians, not even those who dwell in their wagons or their tents, "such as the Scythians and Sarmatians, among whom prayers are not made to God the Father of the world in the name of the Lord Jesus." Tertullian says that the Scythians, Sarmatians, the Dacians and Germans hold in honor the name of Christ. Arnobius and Irenæus, in the third century, speak in similar strain. Pope Innocent I (402-417) says that there is no Church in Italy, or in the Gauls—including in that term the territories bordering on the Rhine and Upper Danube—which had not been founded by a bishop who had owed his institution to St. Peter or his successors. These expressions, while extravagant, contain an element of truth.¹ Athanasius found at Treves a center of orthodoxy. Jerome resided there, and wrote some of his books there. We have already seen the conversion of the Goths on the Lower Danube under Ulfilas. In the fifth century there were bishoprics at Treves, Cologne, Tongres, Metz, and Toul among the Belgic or semi-Teutonic Gauls, at Coire, Laybach, Pettan, and Lorch, in the south of Germany, and at Tiburium, in Dalmatia.²

Nevertheless, this Christianization was superficial and partial. Wars and incursions swept away the peaceful results of these sporadic efforts. The German tribes, roaming through their vast primeval forests, were pagans still.

SEVERINUS.

One of the first of the missionaries was Severinus, the apostle of Noricum, or Austria. In the second half of the fifth century he appeared near what is now Vienna, to restore the broken paths; for, in the desolations of those times, what

¹ See Merivale, *The Conversion of the West: the Continental Teutons*, p. 28.

² Merivale, *l. c.*, p. 31.

religion the tribes had was forgotten. He had long lived in the East, but his speech was that of a Roman. He built a rude hut near the gates of Pavia (Vienna), and his austere, holy, and devoted life soon began to influence the people. His life as told by Eugippus, his friend and assistant, and preserved to us by the Bollandists, is full of marvels. He did not content himself with preaching the Gospel, but like Oberlin, of this later day, he busied himself also with the material interests of the people. He had that wise and sagacious insight into the best things for the temporal welfare which distinguished the New England pastors of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He provided means of communication and directed the best plans of defense. He formed militia, and caused the town to adopt a municipal organization. When the great Roman towns on the Danube fell one after another into the hands of the barbarians he effected for the most part a peaceable transfer of the institutions of the empire. He devised a system of relief. He urged upon the rich the payment of a tenth for the relief of their brethren and the redemption of the captives. The rich neglected this duty, and were severely denounced by the holy Severinus. He was utterly unselfish. His memory still lingers throughout Austria as a blessed fragrance. He was a great pioneer of Christian civilization. His work in actual conversion was limited. The Rugians and Heruli remained mostly Arian and the Allemanni mostly pagan. It was only a century later, under the missionary zeal of St. Gregory, that the work of Severinus was completed.¹

Amandus, born of noble parentage in Aquitania, devoted himself to the conversion of the Frisians in the North. He worked in what is now Belgium (630). It appears from AMANDUS. somewhat conflicting reports that he was at first unsuccessful, and solicited Dagobert, King of the Franks, to compel the people to be baptized. This enraged the high-spirited pagans, and they repeatedly threw him into the Scheldt. Later he learned wisdom and tried to win them by love. The restoration of a criminal, after he had been hung and prematurely cut down, so impressed the natives that they crowded to baptism. Amandus is called the

¹ For life of Severinus, see Bollandists' ed. of *Acta Sanctorum*, Jan. 1, 1882; Pez, *Script. Ror. Anstr.*, i, 62; Tillemont, *Mém.*, xvi, 178-181; Stokes in *South and West*; Klippel in *Herzog-Platt*; Viala ed. by Sauppe, *Berlin*, 1873; *Severin*, Wien d. Wohnsitz u. Sterbeort d. h. Severin, Wien, 1882; Nauder, *Ch. Hist.*, iii, 25-27, and *Christian Life in the Middle Ages*, pp. 323-341, where several anecdotes from Eugippus's Life of him are given; Merivale, *The Continental Teutons*, in series on *The Conversion of the West*, chap. iv.

"Apostle of Belgium," but to that honor his title is doubtful. He was made Bishop of Maastricht (646), and died about 648.¹

When we come to Eligius we stand on more solid ground. He was a fellow-countryman of Amandus, born near Limoges. As a worker in gold he gained favor in the courts of Clotaire II and Dagobert I. While still a layman he built a monastery and numerous churches in and around Limoges. In 640 he was ordained to the priesthood and consecrated Bishop of Noyon. His piety and fidelity produced a marked impression. He soon became dissatisfied with the too easy life of a bishop, and "flung himself vehemently into the rude and trackless plains of Guldres and Friesland," where he confronted savages who had never seen a messenger of Christ. Slowly, by the purity and unselfishness of his life and the earnestness

of his preaching, he broke down their savage opposition, and won many of them to his baptisms at every paschal season. He threw himself against the pagan indulgences and superstitions of many of the nominal Christians of his territory. On a great feast day he stood up in front of a church near Noyon and denounced in strong language the pagan amusements. "Preach as much as thou pleasest, thou Roman,"² the populace cried, "but thou art not permitted to abolish our ancient customs; no man shall prohibit our ancient amusements, which give us so much pleasure." He tried to reform their wild drinking-bouts and fighting feasts. Eligius was a bishop and missionary of apostolic mold. He died at Noyon in 658 or 659.³

¹ Some place his death at 679. It is difficult to construct a consistent account of his life. His life in Mabillon, *Acta Bened.*, See. ii, 681; Smedt, *Vie de St. Amand*, 1861; Gosse, *Essai sur St. Amand*, 1866; Elbrard, *Iroschottische Missionskirche*, 1873; Merivale, *l. c.*, 82-84. He had a conflict with the Irish missionaries, who worked with success in those regions.

² These were Teutons, or Franks. Eligius was of Gallo-Roman family.

³ His life by St. Ouen, his disciple, with perhaps later enlargements, will be found in D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, ii, 76-123, and, in part, in Bouquet, iii, 552-561. It has been transl. into French, with notes, by Charles Barthelemy in *Études historiques sur le VII^e Siècle*, Paris, 1847. His *Officium* will also be found in the same work. For some sermons ascribed to him, but of doubtful authorship, see *Bibl. Max. Patr.*, Lyons, 1677, xii, 300-322. His celebrated sermon against the heathen practices and superstitions of the Christians, which really belong to Caesarius of Arles, is translated by Maitland in his *Dark Ages*, Lond., 6th ed., 1890, pp. 136-147, 178-181, with caustic comments on the ignorant and perverted use of it by W. Robertson, Mosheim, MacLaine, and White in Bampton Lectures. Maitland also gives his life as a layman, pp. 107-126. Various legendary features of his life are given in Jacques le Vasseur, *Annales de l'Église cathédrale de Noyon*, Paris, 1633. For his missionary work see Rettberg, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, ii, 508; Merivale, *l. c.*, 79-81;

The most romantic efforts for the Christianization of Germany were the result of the overflow of the missionary zeal of the Irish. The Celtic Church of the British Islands was IRISH MISSION-
ARIES TO GER-
MANY. rich in monasteries, literature, and consecrated men.

With flaming zeal the Celtic monks issued out from their cloisters to spread the Gospel and its institutions.¹ They were the missionaries of the seventh century. The headquarters of the Celtic Church was Ireland, a country which had received Christianity with enthusiasm. With an amusing and pardonable exaggeration the Liberal Catholic Count de Montalembert speaks thus of the "Island of Saints:" "From the moment that this Green Erin, situated at the extremity of the known world, had seen the sun of faith rise upon her, she had vowed herself to it with an ardent and tender devotion which became her very life. The course of ages has not interrupted this; the most bloody and implacable of persecutions has not shaken it; the defection of all northern Europe has not led her astray; and she maintains still amid the splendors and miseries of modern civilization and Anglo-Saxon supremacy an inextinguishable center of faith, where survives, along with the completest orthodoxy, that admirable purity of manners which no conqueror and no adversary has ever been able to dispute, to equal, or to diminish."²

Columban was born in Leinster (543). He was educated at the monastery at Banger, on the coast of Down, under the COLUMBAN. Holy St. Cungall. Finally, he felt the passion of the Scots for pilgrimage,³ and yielded to the call to carry the cross to regions beyond. With twelve other monks he sailed for France about 585. He traversed the country, preaching and admonishing clergy and bishops. Gondran, the best of the grandsons of Clovis, urged him to settle in his dominions. He settled first at Annegray, now a hamlet of the commune of Faucogney, in Haute-Saône. He was near to nature's heart. His biographer says that he would leave his companions to plunge into the woods, where he would stay for days together. He had that strange power over nature which Thomas Hughes says, in his study of the Manliness of Christ, has been shown by many simple and true-hearted souls, and which might

Neander, *Memorials of Christian Life in the Middle Ages*, pp. 374-385, who gives anecdotes and extracts from his prayers and sermons; Maclear, *Apostles of Mediæval Europe*, pp. 77-86.

¹ "In exteras etiam nationes, quasi inundatione facta illa sanctæ religionis examina effuderunt"—S. Bernard, *Vita S. Malachi*, v.

² *Monks of the West*, ii, 389.

³ "Scotorum quibus consuetudo peregrinandi jam pene in naturam conversa est."—Wal. Strabo, *De Mirac. S. Galli*, ii, 47.

he had by everyone who could attain unto something of Christ's cordial attitude toward the lower world. The birds received his caresses and the squirrels hid themselves in the folds of his cloak. The wolves passed him unmolested and the brigands went their way without seeing him.¹ He moved to Luxeuil in 590, where he established a larger monastery. It was a wild spot among the defiles of Burgundy. It was made to bloom by the labors of the monks of Columban. He was soon the governor of three monasteries. Labor and prayer went together. He drew up his drastic rule for the SEVERITY OF government of his monks. All were bound to agricul-
COLUMBAN. ture. No allowance was made for any weakness. Even the sick threshed the wheat. The monk must go to rest so fatigued that he should fall asleep on the way, and must get up before he had slept sufficiently. The obedience required was absolute. It went beyond the rule of St. Benedict and of the Jesuits. All the monks, both the sick and the well, were allowed only meal moistened with water and a small loaf. Fasting was a daily exercise, and the monks were to eat only in the evening. Corporal punishment was reduced to a fine art. The rule of St. Benedict reserved beating for the most incorrigible criminals, but the rule of Columban prescribed it for the most insignificant omissions. The number of strokes inflicted on delinquents varied from six to two hundred—the maximum penalty being reserved for the unhappy monk who had spoken to a woman without the presence of a third person. But even this penalty, strange to say, could be commuted to two days' fasting on bread and water.²

But in spite of this severity the courageous and uncompromising Irishman saw multitudes of men, rich and poor, gather around COLUMBAN'S him. He had no lack of disciples to the end of his
SUCCESS. life. This assured position gave him vantage ground as a sort of spiritual dictator to the whole Church. His intense devotion and piety went hand in hand with a lofty pride and a sense of command. He wrote to bishops, and even to the pope, urging fidelity and zeal. He rebuked the worldly priesthood. He insisted on his own Irish method of tonsure and mode of computing Easter—not as making it obligatory on the Roman or Gallic Church, but as within his liberty.

Columban at length was forced to leave his Burgundian monasteries on account of the enmity of Brunchilde, the grandmother of King Theodoric II. In order to increase her own power in the

¹ Jonas, Vit. S. Col., 14-16, 26, 30.

² See Seebass, Ueber Columba von Luxeuil's Klosterregel und Bussbuch, Dresden, 1883.

court Brunehilde had encouraged her grandson in his evil living. The brave missionary had repeatedly rebuked him for his adulteries, and neither the threats nor arts of Brunehilde could turn aside his fearless denunciations. He was arrested twice in 610, taken to Besançon, and, with his Irish companions, made his COLUMBAN AND GALLUS. way to the King of Soissons and Neustria, Clotaire II, and finally determined to take up the purely missionary work of his first love.¹ He came to Bregentz, on Lake Constance, and attempted the conversion of the Sueves and Alemanni, worshippers of Woden. His principal assistant was Gallus, who could preach in German as well as Latin. But the methods of Columban were too impetuous. Sometimes he and his monks broke the boilers in which the pagans prepared beer to offer as a sacrifice to Woden; sometimes they burned the temples and threw into the lake the gilded idols. They claimed a few converts, but such summary methods made their stay there impossible.

With a single disciple Columban crossed the Alps and found an asylum on the plains of Lombardy, under the friendly Agilulf and his wife Theodolind. Agilulf gave him Bobbio, in the Apennines, between Milan and Genoa, not far from Trebbia, where Hannibal had vanquished the Romans. Here the indomitable Irishman bent his old shoulders under the weight of the beams of fir, and built his last home. From this monastery he carried on his fight against the Arians and held aloft the torch of knowledge and truth for northern Italy. The monastery of Bobbio became one of the most celebrated in the Middle Ages. Its school and library were excelled by few. Muratori has given a catalogue of seven hundred manuscripts which it possessed in the tenth century. Hither came the famous palimpsest from which Cardinal Mai published the *De Republica of Cicero*. The monastery was suppressed under the French in 1803. The church still serves as a parish church.

Columban wrote a remarkable letter to the pope on the troubles and heresies of the times. He uses more extravagant laudation of the papal seat than he would have done in Gaul or Ireland. COLUMBAN'S LETTER TO THE POPE. but it is evident that this is a mere matter of courtesy. He rebukes and lectures the pope freely. In fact, Montalembert acknowledges that "some of the expressions he employs would now be regarded as disrespectful and justly rejected. But in those young and vigorous times faith and austerity could be more indulgent."² Columban says that the spiritual leadership of

¹ "Mei voti fuit gentes visitare Evangelium eis a nobis prædicari: sed fel modo referente eorum teporem, pene meum tulit inde amorem."—*Ep. ad Fratres*.

² *Monks of the West*, ii, 440.

the Roman Church exists only so long as "right reason" remains with her, and that nothing she says can stand against the faith of the universal Church.¹ He clings tenaciously to his own Irish customs, and is scandalized at the looseness and heresies of the South. He contrasts the harmony and uncorrupted faith of the Irish Church with the divisions and quarrels he sees in Italy. "We Irish," he says, "who inhabit the extremities of the world, are the disciples of St. Peter and St. Paul, and of the other apostles who have written under dictation of the Holy Spirit. We receive nothing more than the apostolic and evangelical doctrine. There has never been either a heretic, a Jew, or a schismatic among us." He says that the labors of St. Peter and St. Paul place Rome at the head of the Churches, except only that of Jerusalem, which stands at the head of universal Christendom in virtue of the resurrection of the Lord.

On the relations of Columban to the papal see two extreme views should be avoided. On the one hand is the opinion of Ebrard,

COLUMBAN'S
RELATIONS TO
THE PAPACY.

Michelet, and others, which represents him as a sort of Luther of the seventh century, and, on the other, that of modern Roman controversialists which represents him

as fully accordant with the claims of Rome. Columban had no other thought than that of respecting the Roman Church as in a sense the mistress and spiritual guide of the Church, but he was far from regarding her as the infallible organ of the Holy Ghost, whose will in all things was binding. No one would have rejected such a claim more earnestly than this imperious, impassioned, yet humble and pious leader of the British missionary forces on the continent.² Columban did not long survive his Bobbio foundation. He died in 615, aged seventy-two. Columban was also a poet. He wrote, mostly in hexameter, pious strains against the vanities of the world. One is in jingling advice against the love of money, in which are many examples of the evil influences of such love taken from ancient mythology. He gives directions as to the composition of this kind of verse, and says it was invented by Sappho:

Sed tamen illa
Trojugenarum
Inclita vates
Nomine Sappho
Versibus istis
Dulce solebat
Mentem ornare.

¹ See Neander, iii, 35.

² "He cannot be cited," says Kelly, of Maynooth, "as a witness to the ultramontane opinion of the pope's infallibility." *Dissertations on Irish Ch. Hist.*, Dublin, 1864, p. 265. See Killen, *Ecc. Hist. of Ireland*, i, pp. 46-49.

His other works are his Rule, his Penitentiary, his Instructions, his Sermons, and Letters.¹

Gallus, the Irish companion of Columban, pressed farther on than his leader into the wilds of the mountains, until he came to the banks of the Steinach, where he and his companions built their oratory, about 612. Many interesting legends are told of his encounters with the demons and beasts of the mountains. He labored for the salvation of the heathen around him, and soon acquired such fame for wisdom and holiness that the see of Constance in 612, and the abbacy of the Luxeuil monastery in 625, were offered him. He declined both. He pursued his evangelistic labors among the Allemanni and Suabians, and earned the title of the "Apostle of Switzerland." His monastery of St. Gall became one of the most celebrated centers of learning in the Middle Ages. He died 645, at the age of ninety-five.²

Three other Irish monks labored in Germany. Fridolin founded the monastery of Säkingen, on the Rhine, near Bâle. Trudbert went to Breisgau, in the Black Forest, where he is said to have been murdered, and where a monastery, south of Freiburg, in Breisgau,

¹ Wright, *Biographia Britannica Literaria*, Anglo-Saxon Period, Lond., 1842, pp. 142-162, gives an account of his life and writings, with a list of editions. The Life of Columban and of his Disciples, by Jonas, Abbot of Bobbio, is found in Mabillon, *Acta Sanct.*, ii. This and his own writings in Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, vol. 80. The less authoritative Lives of Fridolin, Trudbert, and Permin in Mone, *Quellensammlung f. d. badische Landesgeschichte*, i, Karlsruhe, 1843. The works of Columban were also edited by Fleming, with Life by Jonas, etc., *Collectanea Sacra*, Louvain, 1667. His life and some of his works are also in Messingham, *Florilegium Insule Sanctorum, seu Vitæ et Actæ Sanctorum Hibernicæ*, Paris, 1621, fol., pp. 403-411. His life is translated in the University of Pennsylvania's *Translations and Reprints*, vol. ii, No. 7, 1895. On Columban, see Ehrard, *Die irischottische Missions-Kirche*, Güters., 1873; Haack, *Kirchengesch. Deutschlands*, vol. i, Leipz., 1887; Friedrich, *Kirchengesch. Deutschlands*, Hanb., 1867-69, 2 vols.; O. Seebass, *Ueber Columba von Luxeuil's Klosterregel und Bussbuch*, Dresd., 1883; Maclear, *Apostles of Med. Europe*, pp. 57-72; Milman, ii, 236-246; Neander, *Ch. Hist.*, iii, 29-35, *Memorials of Christian Life in Middle Ages*, pp. 434-449; Montalembert, *Monks of the West*, ii, pp. 385-451; Killen, *Eccles. Hist. of Ireland*, i, 40-49; Gammack and Mone in Smith and Wace, art. *Columbanus* (1); W. Werner, in *Herzog-Platt*; Lanigan, *Eccles. Hist. of Ireland*, i, 288, 301; Hovel, *U. L. der des heil. Columba Leben und Wirken, bes. seine Klosterregel*, in *Zeitsch. für Kirchengesch.*, 1875, 396, ff., and an art. in *Brügger's Zeitsch. für Kirchengesch.*, 1879, 177-181.

² Walafrid Strabo, *Vita St. Galli*, A. D. 842-849, in Mabillon, *Acta SS. O. S. B.*, ii, 215, ff.; in Messingham, *Flor. Ins. Sanct.*, 255, ff.; and in Mirne, vol. 113. *Vita St. Galli hactenus inedita*, ex MS. St. Gall, is pub. by Pertz, *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, ii, 1, ff. There are lives and discussions in German, by Greit, Rettberg, Hefele, Haid, and Wartman. See Gammack in Smith and Wace.

bears his name. Kylian, or Cilian, the apostle of Franconia, with some companions, went to Würzburg, where he baptized Duke Gozbert. He was finally murdered (685) by Gozbert's wife on account of his stern denunciations of the marriage. Geilana was the widow of Gozbert's brother. An unscriptural Church law was thus responsible for this needless martyrdom.

The English entered into this ardent missionary impulse. St. Egbert urged it on. Under his exhortations Willibrord, a native of Northumberland, educated under Sir Wilfrid at

WILLIBRORD. Ripon and in Ireland, embarked with seven companions for Frisia, at the mouth of the Rhine, 690. Radbod was the native prince of the Frisians, and an uncompromising heathen. Willibrord began his labors in the part of the country under the protection of Pepin l'Heristal, who had recently broken the power of Radbod. At Pepin's advice he went to Rome, and was invested with the bishopric of Utrecht. He evangelized parts of Frankish Frisia, built several churches and monasteries, appointed presbyters and bishops, and consolidated Christianity throughout his diocese. He visited Denmark on an evangelizing tour, but could make no impression on the ferocious king, Ongend. After a life of zealous work for the Gospel Willibrord died at Epterna, about 740. Alcuin describes him as "eminent in dignity, symmetrical in stature, honorable in look, attractive in face, happy in heart, wise in counsel, jocund in speech, composed in manner, and strenuous in all the work of God."¹

Other Englishmen followed in the wake of Willibrord. Adelbert labored in the north of Holland, Werenfrid near Elste, and Wiro among the people of Guldres. The brothers OTHER ENGLISH MISSION-ARIES. Hlewald (Ewald) were martyred by the Saxons before they could strike a blow for Christ.² Thomas Smith remarks that it is doubtful if England to-day sends as many missionaries into foreign lands as she did in the seventh and eighth centuries into Frisia alone, and adds: "From all our Scottish Churches there do not go forth as many heralds of salvation as went forth from our shores in the beginning of the seventh century."

¹ Vita S. Will., ch. 23, in Mabillon, Acta Sanctorum O. S. B., sec. iii, p. 1, 561, ff., and in Migne, vol. 101. Alcuin also wrote an abridgment of this in verse, which is also in the great collections. See St. Boniface's Letter to Pope Stephen, in Migne, vol. 89, 787; Bede, H. E., v, 10, 11; Diplomata S. Willibrordi, in Migne, vol. 89, 535, ff. Gammack in Smith and Wace; Maclear, l. c., ch. vii.

² Bede, H. E., v, 10; Acta Sanct. Boll., Oct., ii, 205-207.

³ Medieval Missions, Edinb., 1890, p. 112.

One of the boldest missionaries was Wulfram, Bishop of Sens, in the last quarter of the seventh century. Whether he was an Englishman is uncertain. Wulfram wrought among Radbod's Frisians, and tried to overcome their diabolical practice of sacrificing human victims to the gods. Some of these he rescued. The story is told that after he had convinced Radbod of the truth of Christianity, and had led him down into the font, the duke suddenly asked the dauntless missionary where his ancestors were—in heaven or hell. "In hell, undoubtedly," said Wulfram. "I will join my own people, then," said the king, "rather than sit down in the kingdom of heaven with a handful of beggars."¹ Wulfram died in 695, when a monk at Fontanelle.

WULFRAM.

¹ This anecdote, while not improbable, has been discredited by some historians, as Rettberg, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, ii, 514-517. His Life in Mabillon, iii, i, pp. 341-348, is supposed to be interpolated, and the Bollandists substituted a shorter one, which omits the story of the duke. Maclear, *Apostles of Mediaeval Europe*, pp. 104-109, gives some interesting anecdotes.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE LABORS OF BONIFACE.

THROUGH the zeal of the Irish and the English missionaries Germany was in a fair way to become Christianized after the customs of the Celtic Church. These workers were good preachers and monks, of indomitable perseverance and courage, but they were poor organizers. They did not so articulate and bind together their scattered missions as to impress their method and ideas on the German people. It was left, therefore, for one of themselves, a greater than all, to Romanize their results. But, in spite of the success of Boniface, Germany never forgot that she had received the Gospel from the North, and the Italian yoke never became easy to the muscular Teutonic neck.

Winfred, generally called Boniface, was born at Crediton, or Kirkton, eight miles northwest of Exeter, about 680. He was educated at the convent school of Exeter and at the monastery of Nutsall—perhaps Netley—near Winchester. He was already distinguished for his learning and ability when he was ordained, at the age of thirty. England was already converted, and Boniface WINFRED, OR BONIFACE. longed for harder work beyond the North Sea, whither his fellows had gone. About 716, with two or three companions, he embarked for Frisia. Radbod was then in war with Charles Martel, and Boniface returned to England. The next year he embarked again, this time going directly to Rome. He was received very cordially by Gregory II, who gave him authorization to evangelize central Europe. He pressed up again into Frisia, and for three years assisted Willibrord in missionary labors. Then he plunged into the wilds of heathen Hesse, baptized two of the chiefs, and received multitudes in Hesse and on the borders of Saxony into Christianity. He founded a monastery at Amoneburg, near the Ohm.

Boniface had found that in the complicated relations between Christianity and heathenism in Germany the help and advice of Rome were not to be despised. In 723 he visited Rome again, was made bishop, without a see, and took an oath of fealty to the pope similar to that taken by the Italian bishops. This was a turning point in history. It was now determined that the German Church

should not go on in its free development after a pure type, but that it should be swung back into the wake of the Roman system. This may have been the providential plan. The mediæval civilization, with its turbulent elements, required a strong and compact Church government, and it is doubtful if the Christian fruits of the missionaries could have been conserved if religion had been organized among the European tribes in a form less solid.

Boniface, having first secured the sanction of Charles Martel, went again to Hesse. The Hessians were an important tribe, living between the Franks and the Saxons. SUCCESS IN
HESSE. Their complete conversion was necessary to the plans of Boniface. By a happy stroke he undermined heathenism at a blow. At Geismar, near Fritzlar, in Upper Hesse, there was a gigantic oak, sacred to Thor. This was a sacred shrine and meeting place of the people. With an ax Boniface felled the tree before their eyes. They expected him to be struck dead. The spell was broken. Out of the timbers he constructed a church. Conversions rapidly followed. The people were organized into schools. From England, with which Boniface kept up constant correspondence, he received new recruits—monks and nuns—for service. Monasteries were founded, which became mission stations and training centers; arts and sciences were introduced; and books and copyists were brought from England and Rome. To the abbess Eadburga he wrote for the epistles of Peter in gilded letters for use in preaching, and to another he wrote for copies of the gospels written in clear characters suitable for his weak eyes. He also wrote for commentaries, especially those of Bede.

Boniface tried to reform the disorders of the clergy. Priests were ignorant. He ordered that no one should be appointed priest who could not repeat the more important offices in the vernacular. He tried to bring the British and Irish priests to the Roman law of celibacy, but he met with bitter opposition, for they REFORMS OF
BONIFACE. would not renounce their wives.¹ Some of the priests neglected their spiritual duties, and were lovers of the chase and of war. Others mixed Christian and pagan customs, and even sacrificed to idols. Boniface tried to bring them to better ways, but only partially succeeded. There were, however, British and Irish monks of austere and holy life, who were of great influence with the people, and resented the disposition to Romanize Germany. All this made his path full of thorns.

In 738, Boniface made his third and last visit to Rome, this time

¹ The marriage of priests was allowed in the Celtic Church. The Irish synod, A. D. 456, can. 6, ordered that the wives of the clergy should always be veiled when in public. Wilkin, Concil. Angl., i, 2.

with a great retinue of monks and converts. He was made archbishop and legate, and went back with new instructions and authority. He aimed now at organization. He founded several bishoprics and arranged a synodal system. He held five of these synods, presided over by himself in the name of the pope. Laws, many of them very salutary, were passed providing for the reformation of the clergy and the Church. In 743 Boniface was made Archbishop of Mainz. In 744 he founded the great monastery at Fulda, in the wild forest of Buchenau, between Hesse and Bavaria, destined to become the Monte Casino of Germany. Over this he appointed Sturm, his assistant in Thuringia, and hither, as to a loved retreat, he occasionally resorted for rest and quiet.

As Boniface advanced in years his missionary zeal became more intense. Naming Lull as his successor at Mainz, and requesting that after death his body be brought back to Fulda, he embarked on the Rhine for the northern country with a company of priests and acolytes. Some of the pagans welcomed them, and churches were organized. On June 4, 755, they had reached Dookum, on the river Burde. Here a company of heathen Frisians, enraged at their success, rushed upon them. Some in the bishop's peaceful party were preparing for resistance. He forbade them. "Let us not return evil for evil. The long-expected day is come. Strengthen yourselves in the Lord, and he will redeem your souls. Fear not those who kill the body, but put your trust in God, who will speedily bring you to heaven." He himself laid his head on a volume of the gospels, and stretched it forth for the fatal blow. He and nearly all his band were killed. For centuries after in the monastery at Fulda, whither the remains of Boniface were brought, there was preserved a blood-stained copy of St. Ambrose on the Advantage of Death which the holy Boniface had carried with him in that last journey.

Boniface does not deserve the severe denunciations of Ebrard.¹ He represents him simply as a papal emissary, a Roman spy, not a missionary, but an enslaver of Germany. In reality the Christian zeal of Boniface was unsurpassed. The simplicity of his aims, his earnest anxiety for the very best things for the German Church, his lifelong interest in his English home, his wide and living sympathies—all these are reflected in his correspondence.² In organizing Germany under the Roman see, he not

¹ See his *Bonifatius der Zerstörer des columb. Kirchenthums auf dem Festland*, Gütersl., 1892. He replies to the fairer book of Fischer, *Bonifatius, der Apostel der Deutschen*, 1881.

² See Hahn, *Bonifaz und Lul, ihre angelsächs. Korrespondenten*, Leipz., 1883.

only followed the drift of the age, but he was doing the best that he knew to conserve and consolidate a Christian civilization in an age of anarchy and barbarism. He was a scholar, a civilizer, and a statesman.¹

¹ The works of Boniface have been ed. by J. A. Giles, Lond., 1844, 2 vols. There is an ed. of his epistles by Wurdthwein, Mainz, 1790, and Migne, vol. 89, and Jaffé, *Bib. rerum ger.* (Mon. Mog.). Hahn has proven that the sermons bearing his name are not genuine. His life was written by Willibald, a companion and eyewitness, and is in Portz, *Mon.*, ii, 33, and in the 12th century by Othlo, a monk of Ratisbon, who has interwoven with Willibald's narrative papal briefs, Boniface's letters and other documents. It is found in Mabillon, *Acta Sanct. Ord. Bened.*, Sec. III, pt. 2, and in Migne, vol. 89. Of modern authorities, besides those mentioned in the notes, there are Gieseler, *Leben Bonifacius*, Erl., 1800; Löffler, *Bonifacius*, Gotha, 1812; Rottberg, *Kirchengesch. Deutschl.*, Gött., 1846; Schmerbauch, *Bonifacius, Apostel der Deutschen*, Erf., 1827; Seiters (R. C.), *Bonifacius, Apostel der Deutschen*, Mainz, 1845; Cox, *Life of Boniface*, Lond., 1853; Müller, *Bonifacius*, Amst., 1869; Hope, *Boniface*, Lond., 1872; Werner, *Bonifacius*, Leipz., 1875, and art. in *Herzog-Plitt*; Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschl.*, Leipz., 1887; Pfahler, *St. Bonifacius*, Regensb., 1880. In the histories there are excellent discussions by Schmidt, vol. iv; Neander, iii, 46-72, *Memorials of Chr. Life in Middle Ages*, 453-470; Robertson, ii (8vo ed.), 95-112; Schaff, iv, 92-100; Möller, 74-83; Milman, bk. iv, ch. v. See also Wright, *Biogr. Brit. Lit. (Anglo-Saxon)*, pp. 308-334, where list of editions is also given; I. G. Smith in *Smith and Wace*; Maclear, *Apostles of Med. Europe*, ch. viii; Trench, *Medieval Church History*, pp. 60-76.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE CONVERSION OF SCANDINAVIA.

THE daring of the Northmen, their bold and ceaseless invasion of new territory in various parts of Europe, are among the AGGRESSIONS OF THE NORTH- MEN. wonders of history. Palgrave says: "Take a map and color with vermilion the provinces, districts, and shores which the Northmen visited, as the record of each invasion. The coloring will have to be repeated more than ninety times successively before you arrive at the conclusion of the Carolingian dynasty. Furthermore, mark by the usual symbol of war, two crossed swords, the localities where battles were fought by or against the pirates; where they were defeated or triumphant, or where they pillaged, burned, destroyed; and the valleys and banks of the Elbe, Rhine, and Moselle, Scheldt, Meuse, Somme, and Seine, Loire, Garonne, and Adour, the inland Allier, and all the coast and coastlands between estuary and estuary, and the countries between the river streams, will appear bristling as with *chevaux-de-frise*. The strongly fenced Roman cities, the venerated abbeys, and their dependent bourgades, often more flourishing and extensive than the ancient seats of government, the opulent seaports and trading towns, were all equally exposed to the Danish attacks, stunned by the Northmen's approach, subjugated by their fury."¹

Such were the people whom Anskar and his successors brought under the scepter of Christ.

Charles the Great had foreseen the Norse devastations, and had provided against them by fortifying the river banks and ports in northern Europe. But under his feeble successors the ravages were unchecked. The Northmen, unlike the Moslems, did not wage a religious war. They went only for plunder and conquest. If they had had a Northern Mohammed to organize them into a great united force no one can tell what the result would have been.² But the Normans were conquered for Christ, and finally settled down in peaceful occupations in the country they invaded, becoming Englishmen in England, Frenchmen in France, and Italians in Italy.

Willibrord had crossed the Eider in 696. Harold, King of the

¹ Normandy and England, vol. i, p. 419.

² See Milman, iii, 134.

Jutes, for political reasons sought the protection of the Franks. This formed the opening wedge. Ebo, Archbishop of Rheims, crossed the Eider in 823 at the head of an imperial embassy, and with the blessing of Pope Paschalis I. He baptized some Danes, and returned in a year with several young Jutes whom he intended to educate for missionaries. In 826 Harold received baptism at Mainz. Soon after his return there followed Anskar, the "Apostle of the North."

Anskar was the son of a Frankish nobleman and was of a profound religious nature. A beautiful vision is recorded as one of the turning points of his career. He died suddenly, and at the moment of his death St. Peter and John the Baptist appeared before him. He was conducted by them to purgatory, where he passed three days in such darkness and suffocation that they seemed a thousand years. He passed on to heaven, whose glory he beheld. A voice of the most exquisite sweetness, but so clear that it seemed to fill the world, spoke to him out of the unapproachable light, "Go, and return hither, crowned with martyrdom." "On this triumphant end," says Milman, "which he gained at last, not by the sword, but by the slow mortification of his life, was thenceforth set the soul of Anskar." He entered the monastery of Corbey, near Amiens. When these monks founded a new station on the Weser, east of Paderborn, as an outpost for missionary operations, Anskar was chosen prior of this monastery of New Corbey (822). When volunteers were called for to go north Anskar and his brother monk Authbert offered. On the frontiers of Schleswig they began their work (826), founding a school, buying and educating Danish slaves, redeeming Christian prisoners of war, and preaching. Misfortunes overtook the mission. Harold was driven out by his pagan subjects, and the missionaries had to flee as well.

ANSKAR, THE
APOSTLE OF
THE NORTH.

Sweden was now unexpectedly opened. Some ambassadors from Sweden to the court of Louis the Pious had brought the report that there were Christian merchants and prisoners in their country who would welcome the visit of missionaries. In 830 Anskar and several companions undertook the mission. They were overtaken by Norse pirates and plundered of everything. They were able, however, to reach land. They came to Birka, on Lake Malar, the center of the northern trade, not far from the ancient capital, Sigtuna. Here they had remarkable success. Hloi-gar, the governor of Birka, was baptized, and built a church at his own expense. After eighteen months Anskar returned to Germany

FIRST MISSION
TO SWEDEN.

¹ Vita S. Anskarii, in Pertz, ii, 692; Milman, iii, 138.

to seek new recruits. Then Louis made Hamburg the seat of a bishopric for that northern land, and appointed Anskar bishop (834). A cathedral was built. Anskar bought more Danish boys to educate for the priesthood and sent new laborers to the Swedes.

Suddenly the sky was darkened. Louis died in 840. Harold went back to heathenism, a pagan uprising drove out the Swedish missionaries, and the Normans descended on Hamburg and burned the city, church, monastery, and library. Anskar was now a homeless wanderer. But nothing daunted his faith. Fortune turned again. He was made Bishop of Bremen. In 850 he again ventured into Sweden, with rich presents for the king, Olaf. The king finally consented to leave the decision to the assembly of the people. The sacred lot was cast, and the decision was in favor of Christianity. Then in the Folk-thing, after many disputes, an old man arose and said that the God of the Christians had been propitious to him in saving him from shipwreck and from pirates: "It would be much wiser, since our own gods are not so favorable, to have this God also, who is so mighty and so ready a protector." This mercenary argument won the day. The assembly declared for Christianity. The work of conversion, however, proceeded slowly. It was not until over a hundred years afterward that Canute sent English missionaries over to his continental dominions, and thus completed the Christianization of Denmark and Sweden.

In Denmark Anskar set up the cross once more. As commissioner from Louis he gained the confidence of Eric, and his almsgiving and reputation as a miracle-worker produced a profound impression on rude minds. He founded a church at Sliasvig, an important trading town, and in 856 he built another at Ripe. The work of conversion went on, and under Eric II (855) toleration was granted to the Christians.

This holy and intrepid missionary was a model of ascetic excellence. CHARACTER OF He did not slacken his self-discipline after elevation to ANSKAR. the bishopric. He wore a haircloth shirt by night and day. He not only erected a hospital at Bremen for the sick, but distributed the tenth of his income among the poor, and every five years he tithed his income afresh. He would himself wash the feet of the poor and distribute bread to them with his own hands. "One miracle I would ask of the Lord," he said, "and that is that by his grace he would make me a good man." He died in 865, without his coveted crown of martyrdom.¹

¹ Adam, *Gesta hammaburg. ecclesie Pontificum*, rec. Lappenberg, in *Monumenta Germ. Script.*, vol. vii; Rimbert, *Vita Anskarii*, accedit *vita Rimberti*, rec. G. Waitz, in *Mon. Ger. Script.*, vol. ii; Koppmann, *Die ältesten Urkunden*

Hakon, son of the great king Harold Haafager, the unifier of Norway, had been brought up in the Anglo-Saxon court, where he had been trained in the Christian faith. He returned to Norway to liberate his country from the tyranny of his brother Eric, in 934. He tried to introduce Christianity, but the fierce opposition of the chiefs would not allow it. After some tumultuous changes of government Olaf Tryggvesen became king (995-1000). He had been a great traveler, and had often come in contact with Christian seers, monks, and others who made a deep impression on him. There were many Norwegians in Ireland, and these had been Christianized by the native monks and priests. In Dublin, having previously been baptized, Olaf married the daughter of Olaf Kvaran. When he acquired possession of Norway he strove to bring the country into Christianity. The way he did this is told in Snorro-Sturluson's *Heimskringla*, and makes interesting reading. By craft, by persuasion, by cajoling, by wrath and cruelty, he brought the country to an unwilling obedience to Christ. Olaf, the son of Trygve, is a picturesque figure in Norwegian history. He was bent on one thing only, the total overthrow of the horrible Odinism of his fathers.

His work was carried on in the same rough and uncompromising spirit of Olaf the Fat (1014-30). At length some of the alienated chiefs called in the aid of Knut of Denmark, and Olaf was slain in battle. But the imperial abruptness with which the old heathenism was laid low in Norway was followed by long and patient Christian teaching by Norse missionaries from the British islands, some of whom had been brought over by these kings. Hence when the jarls found that Knut's reign was as the sting of scorpions compared to the lash of Olaf's whip, the conversion of Norway had gone on far enough to bring about a reaction. The late king began to be remembered with affection, then revered, and finally, in 1031, was canonized as a saint. Then came the desire for the old independence. Under Olaf's son, Magnus the Good, Knut was driven out in 1035, and Christianity became the national faith of Norway.

des Erzbisthums Hamburg-Bremen, Hainb., 1866; Maurer, *Die Bekehrung des norwegisch. Staumes zum Christenthum*, München, 1856; Tappern, *Lebend. hl. Anskar*, Münster 1863; Maclear, *Apost. of Medieval Europe*, pp. 151-171.

¹ The sources of the two Olafs, the founders of Norwegian Christianity, are: *Heimskringla*: Chronicle of the Norse Kings, tr. by S. Laing, Lond., 1844, 4 vols., new ed., rev. by R. B. Anderson, Lond., 1829. Also tr. by Morris and Magnusson, Lond., 2 vols., 1891. This is one of the great historical books of the world. It was written by Snorro-Sturluson, 12th cent. A new ed., with introd. and notes, by York Powell, is in preparation. *Olafs Saga*, udgivet Munch and Unger, Christiana, 1853. Other authorities: Munch, *Det Norske*

Iceland was also a Norse stronghold. Beginning with 981, Thorwald and Frederick labored there. A council of the island ordered them to leave in 988. Olaf Tryggveson, however, continued the evangelism. Olaf's old friend and chaplain, the indomitable priest-soldier, Dankbrand, a Saxon, was sent out in 997.

ICELAND.

Christianity made such headway that in 1000 it was recognized as the only public worship of the island, idol worship, the exposure of children, and the eating of horseflesh being still permitted in private. But under Olaf the Fat (1016) this compromise was swept away, and Iceland became entirely Christian.¹

The brave Iclander, Eric the Red, had discovered Greenland, and had colonized it in 986. In 1000 Olaf Tryggveson sent Leif

GREENLAND.

the Fortunate, the son of the discoverer, with an expedition for its conversion. The people received the faith readily, and the Church flourished there for 400 years. The Norse settlements were at last overthrown by the Eskimo. This great Christian navigator, Leif, discovered Vinland about 1000, and the cross of Christ was planted on the coasts of Massachusetts and Rhode Island five hundred years before Columbus braved the terrors of the Sea of Darkness.

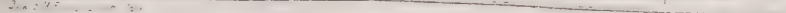
Folk's Historie, Christiana, 7 vols., 1852-63; Sara, udsigt over det Norske Historie, Christ., 1873-77; Maurer, Die Bekehrung des norwegisch, Stammes zum Christenthum, Munich, 1855. This last is the best modern work on the Church History of Norway. Carlyle, The Early Kings of Norway [860-1397], Lond., 1875. This is an adaptation of Laing's Heimskringla, with original touches of Carlyle's genius. Boyesen, The Story of Norway, Lond. and N. Y., 1886, new ed., 1890. See also Maclear, Apostl. of Mediæval Europe, pp. 172-200.

¹ See K. Maurer, Island von seiner ersten Entdeckung bis zum Untergang des Freistaats, München, 1874. Full details as to the ecclesiastical history of Iceland in the Middle Ages will be found in the Biskupa Sögar, ed. by Prof. G. Vigfusson, and pub. by the Icelandic Literary Soc., 2 vols., 1858-61. A part of this collection is the Laurentius Saga; Life of Laurence, Bishop of Holar, trans. by O. Elton, Lond., 1890. Maccoll, The Story of Iceland, Lond., 1887, contains extracts from the sagas.

DURING THE PERIOD
OF CONVERSION
400-700 A.D.

TEMPERARY SCHEDULE BY THE

1 TERRITORY CONVERTED BY
2 THE CELTIC OR SCOTTISH



SEVENTH CENTURY

FORMING POLITICAL AND
TECHNICAL RELATIONS.

1971-1972

CHAPTER XIX.

THE CONVERSION OF ENGLAND.

THE introduction of Christianity into Britain is a tangled skein. At least ten different agents have received the credit of first preaching the Gospel in Britain. These are : (1) Bran, the father of Caradog ; (2) St. Paul ; (3) St. Peter ; (4) St. Simon Zelotes ; (5) St. Philip ; (6) St. James the Great ; (7) St. John ; (8) Aristobulus, the Arwystli Hen of the Welsh Triads ; (9) Joseph of Arimathea ; and (10) Missionaries sent by Elcutherius from Rome at the request of Lucius, a British king.¹ The whole list is legendary. There is no written record of any of these supposed apostles of Britain before the sixth century.

Wordsworth has thus described the hopeless uncertainty of the beginnings of Christian Britain :

“ If there be prophets on whose spirits rest
Past things, revealed like future, they can tell
What Powers, presiding o’er the sacred well
Of Christian Faith, this savage island blessed
With its first bounty. Wandering through the West,
Did holy Paul a while in Britain dwell,
And call the fountain forth by miracle,
And with dread signs the nascent stream invest ?
Or he, whose bonds dropped off, whose prison doors
Flew open, by an Angel’s voice unbarred ?
Or some of humbler name, to these wild shores
Storm-driven ; who, having seen the cup of woe
Pass from their Master, sojourned here to guard of woe
The precious current they had taught to flow ? ”²

The story runs that Caractacus (Caradog), the brave British chieftain, who was carried to Rome in 51, returned to Britain in 58 with his father Bran and his son, St. Cyllinus, leaving his other son, Linus, to be afterward appointed the first Bishop of Rome. This story is not older than the twelfth century. No historian mentions the return of Caractacus. He died in Rome.³ St. Clement of Rome says that St. Paul came to the “boundary of

¹ Haddon and Stubbs, *Concilia* 22-26 ; Pryce, *Ancient British Church*, p. 31, note.

² *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*, i, 1.

³ Pryce, 41-43.

the West,"¹ by which he probably meant Spain.² Eusebius speaks loosely of the disciples "crossing the ocean to the isles called British."³ From these frail notices Usher,⁴ Stillingfleet,⁵ Burgess,⁶ and, later, Soame,⁷ have argued for the Pauline evangelism of Britain. But when he speaks distinctly of the fields of the apostles Eusebius omits Britain altogether.⁸ If Paul had visited that island there would have been an earlier mention than that of Vanantius Fortunatus in the sixth century.⁹ The old British documents are entirely silent.¹⁰

About this year 900 Simon Metaphrastes represents Peter as staying for some time in Britain, and thoroughly organizing a Church.¹¹ Cave quotes from the spurious synopsis of Dorotheus to the effect that St. Simon Zelotes was crucified there.¹² These stories even go to the length of making James, the son of Zebedee, who was put to death by Herod (44), a preacher in Britain.¹³ The worthless Greek menologies make Aristobulus a Bishop of Britain.

The most beautiful legend is that connected with Joseph of Arimathea. In the persecution that arose upon the death of Stephen, the Jews sent him afloat on the Mediterranean without rudder or sail. He drifted to Gaul, where he was received by the apostle Philip, by whom he was sent with twelve companions to preach in Britain. He carried with him the Holy Grail,¹⁴ the cup used by Jesus at the last supper, in which was

LEGEND OF
JOSEPH OF
ARIMATHEA.

¹ Ep. ad. Cor., 5 : ἐπὶ το ῥέμμα τῆς δουλείας ἐβόων.

² Epistles of St. Clement, p. 50. See Rom. xv, 24, 28.

³ Dom. Ev., iii, 5.

⁴ Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates, 1639, c. xi, in Works, v, 20.

⁵ Origines Britannicae, 1710, new ed., Lond., 1840, pp. 1-49. Stillingfleet subjects the other legends to an acute analysis, but he himself accepts this one concerning Paul.

⁶ In various publications on the Independence of the British Church.

⁷ The Anglo-Saxon Church, p. 22.

⁸ H. E., iii, 1.

⁹ Vita S. Martini, iii, 488-494. This tradition is effectually disposed of by Lingard, The Hist. and Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church, i, 317-326, and Pryce, *l. c.*, pp. 43-48.

¹⁰ Ecclesiastical Antiquities of the Cynry, p. 60.

¹¹ Acta Sanct. 29 Jun., v, 416. The ever-refreshing Fuller has some interesting remarks on this, Church History of Britain, new ed., Lond., 1837, i, 8, 9.

¹² Hist. Lit., i, 169, Oxf., 1740.

¹³ Isid. de Patr. utrius Test., c. 72; Flav. Luc. Dexter, Chron. ad ann. 41.

¹⁴ From Low Lat., *gradalis*, a shallow vessel, or from an older form of the same, *cratalis*, from *cratus*, L. Lat. form of *crater*. The legend of the Holy Grail has many forms. In the Quest version it has been immortalized in English literature by Malory, Tennyson, and others. Alfred Nutt gives a thorough treatment in Studies on the Legend of the Holy Grail, Lond., 1888, and an excellent article in the last ed. of Chambers's Encyc.

preserved some of the blood shed on the cross. The king received him well, and he built a church at Glastonbury. This became one of the most celebrated churches in England. It was the "one church of the first rank in England which stood as a memorial of British days, the only one which had lived unscathed through the storm of English conquest."¹ Joseph planted his staff on a neighboring hill, which grew into a Holy Thorn, and blossomed miraculously every Christmas Eve. The first record of this striking story is given by William of Malmesbury, in the twelfth century, in his account of the Glastonbury Church.²

The historian Bede, writing about 731, says that in the reign of Antoninus Verus, Lucius, King of the Britons, sent a letter to Eleutherius, Bishop of Rome, "entreating that by his command he might be made a Christian."³ Although there is nothing inherently improbable in this story, it is, as Lingard says, suspicious, and, as there is no early evidence for it, it cannot be accepted.⁴ A Roman Catholic historian draws a large inference from this doubtful entry of the sixth century: "Tradition speaks infallibly when it says that a British kinglet sent to the pope for instruction in spiritual things, and its full significance is apparent. The pope alone keeps the deposit of the faith, and has it to impart."⁵ If there was a British king in the second century who sent abroad for missionaries it was very natural for him to send to the imperial city.

All these traditions, however, rest on a basis of fact—that in the second century the Christian religion was known in Britain. Tertullian, in the beginning of the third century, says that places in Britain where the Roman

CHRISTIANITY
IN BRITAIN IN
THE SECOND
CENTURY.

¹ See Freeman, *Glastonbury British and English*, in *Macmillan's Mag.*, Oct., 1880. Alford, in his *Ballad of Glastonbury Poems*, i, 16, has gracefully versified the legend.

² Printed in Gale, *Scriptores*, xv. Fuller, bk. i, cent. i, 11-17, has some caustic remarks upon it, and Stillingfleet's acute and learned discussion is a good example of historical criticism, pp. 6-36.

³ H. E., i, 4. Marcus Antoninus began to reign 161, and died 180. Eleutherius's bishopric was between 176 or 177 and 180. The first account of this is about 530, in an addition made to an early catalogue of the Roman pontiffs. Gildas is silent. There are many later embellishments to this legend. See Bright, *Early Eng. Ch. Hist.*, 2d ed., rev. and enl., pp. 3, 4; Pryce, pp. 48-51; Fuller, *Ch. Hist. of Britain*, i, 18-27. The best modern authorities reject it.

⁴ Lingard does not, however, reject it. *Anglo-Saxon Church*, i, 2-4. Burton, *Ecc. Hist.*, ii, 206, and Milman, ii, 226, speak of it as fabulous. Hadron and Stubbs, Bright, Pryce, and Maclear, *Conversion of the West: the Celts*, p. 48, are on the same side.

⁵ Allies, *Hist. of the Church in England, 30-1509*, Lond., 1892, p. 4.

arrows could never penetrate were subject to Christ.¹ Origen says that the power of the Saviour is as manifest in Britain as in Mauritania,² and Arnobius speaks of the velocity with which the word has run from the Indians to the Britons.³ There is no doubt that Britain received the Gospel from the Greek churches in Gaul about the time of the persecution at Lyons and Vienna.⁴

About 303 Britain felt the effects of the Diocletian persecution. Alban, a pagan citizen of Verulam (now St. Albans), gave protection to a Christian priest fleeing from persecution. He was converted by the priest, and, when the hiding place was found, Alban yielded himself up instead of his guest, and was beheaded.

" Self-offered victim, for his friend he died,
And for the faith."⁵

Bede tells of several miracles which were wrought in connection with his martyrdom. A church was built on the site of the martyrdom, and in 793 a great Benedictine abbey was founded there by Offa, King of Mercia, and to-day there stands on that far-famed hill the "vastest and sternest" of the early Norman churches, made a cathedral in 1877.⁶

British bishops were present at the council of Arles (314), held to settle the dispute between Cæcilian, Bishop of Carthage, and the Donatists. It was there determined that (1) Easter Day should be observed at a fixed time throughout the world, to be notified by the Bishop of Rome—a provision which became a dead letter; (2) baptism in the name of the Trinity by heretics valid; (3) marriage indissoluble during the life of the parties; (4) three bishops necessary to the validity of a consecration. Representatives from the North were also present at the council of Ariminum (359).

Britain disturbed the peace of European Christianity by sending out Pelagius, called "the Briton" by Augustine⁷ and Bede,⁸ who quotes against him one of Prosper's fierce epigrams. Pelagius left Britain in early life, and did not return, but Agricola, the son of Bishop Severinus, labored with all his might to propagate his theory. It does not appear that the Church was generally affected, but there was sufficient danger to call in the

¹ Adv. Jud., 7.

² Hom. vi in Luc., c. i.

³ In Psalm cxlii.

⁴ For Eastern influences through the Gallic Church on the British and Irish Churches, see Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, pp. 47-57. See also Pryce, pp. 52-66.

⁵ Wordsworth, *Ecol. Sennets*, i, vi.

⁶ There is no need to question a nucleus of truth in this story. It was believed at Verulam in the fifth century, is given by Gildas, *Hist.*, 8, in the sixth, and is produced at length by Bede, i, 7.

⁷ Ep. 186, i.

⁸ H. E., i, 10.

aid of Gaul. In 429 ¹ Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus of Troyes, went over to confirm the Church. They preached in the churches, streets, and fields. They then held a council, in which the Pelagians were met and vanquished. Soon after occurred the great Hallelujah victory. An army of Picts and Scots came down on the Britons, many of whom had been recently converted. Germanus instructed them to cry out "Hallelujah" at the proper time. With an awful voice they made the cry. The echoes sounded through the valley and reverberated from cliff to cliff. The enemy fled, as if the "very skies were crashing over them, and many leaped headlong into the river." The scene of this battle is laid by Welsh tradition at Maes-Garman, "German's Field," a mile from Mold, in Flintshire.²

Christianity never made much impression in Britain in the Roman times. Hardly a monument remains. The fierceness of the Saxon invasion is not sufficient to account for this. With one or two exceptions there is not a church, or the remains of a church, which can justify its claim to belong to pre-Augustine England. With one exception there is not a Romano-British sepulchral monument with a Christian inscription. Among the thousands of portable objects discovered in England which belong to the British period a score or less are all that remain of Christian origin or use. The testimony of archaeology is a question for experts. Allen has thoroughly investigated this branch of the evidence, and his conclusion is that "neither in the structures, the sepulchral remains, nor the portable objects of the Romano-British period are sufficient traces of Christianity apparent to justify the belief that any appreciable proportion of the inhabitants of the country had been reclaimed from paganism before the end of the fourth century." The late Thomas Wright comes to the same conclusion,³ and shows that at all events the legendary stories, such as the one about Lucius, King of the Britons, writing to Pope Eleutherius in 156, are entirely at variance with the results arrived at by archaeological research. He thinks also that the supposed historical statement as to the presence of British bishops at Arles, 314, does not rest on sufficiently reliable authority to be accepted without further confirmation, and that the general allusions

FEW CHRISTIAN REMAINS OF THE ROMAN PERIOD.

¹ Bede makes the date 416, but this is now admitted as too late.

² Bright, pp. 16-21; Pryce, pp. 117-125; Bede, i, 17-21; Lappenberg, England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings, i, 82, 83.

³ The Celt, Roman and Saxon. Wright was one of the most accomplished antiquaries of the century. He devoted his life to these pursuits, and his works are of great value.

made by Tertullian, Origen, Jerome, and other early Christian writers as to the existence of a Romano-British Church, "must evidently be taken as little better than flourishes of rhetoric."¹ With this general conclusion as to the slight hold Christianity had on early Britain Haddon and Stubbs and Bright,² the three great authorities, agree. Nevertheless Christianity was firmly established in various parts of Britain.

It was formerly thought that Celtic Christianity was of a far purer type than Roman. Ebrard has especially emphasized this view, and there is some truth in it.³ Cut off from the downward development of Rome, the British Church exemplified a religion of a more primitive and evangelical type. But it was only a question of degree. The old theory that the British Church was Protestant and evangelical is now abandoned.⁴ As to its spiritual condition, Gildas, a British historian who wrote about 564, draws a dark picture. He

MARKS OF THE OLD BRITISH CHURCH. says: "Britain hath priests, but they are unwise; very many that minister, but many of them impudent; clerks she hath, but very many of them are deceitful ravengers; pastors, as they are called, but rather wolves prepared for the slaughter of souls, for they provide not for the good of the common people, but covet rather the gluttony of their own bellies; possessing the houses of the Church, but obtaining them for filthy lucre's sake; instructing the laity, but showing withal most depraved examples, vices, and evil manners; seldom sacrificing, and seldom with clean hearts, standing at the altars; not correcting the commonalty for their offenses, while they commit the same sins themselves."

This old prophet-historian adds one indictment after another to these heavy charges. Even granting that there is exaggeration in his words, Gildas plainly shows that the spiritual life of the old British Church was not stronger or purer than that of the continental Church. The Frankish Church was even worse. The pages

¹ Allen, *Monumental Hist. of the Brit. Ch.*, Lond., 1830, pp. 41, 42. The author gives a careful study of all the remains. Others yield more to Christian influences. See Grover, *Pre-Augustine Christianity in Great Britain*, in *Journal of the Brit. Archaeol. Inst.*, xxiii, 231, ff., and Brock, *Evidences of the Extent of the Anc. Brit. Ch.*, in the same, xii, 53, ff.

² Haddon and Stubbs, i, 39, 162; Bright, pp. 10-12; Haddon, *Remains*, p. 332.

³ *Die irischottische Missionskirche der 6, 7, 8 Jahrh.*, Gütersloh, 1872.

⁴ Loos shows this. *Antiquæ Britonum Scotorumque Ecclesiæ quales fuerint mores*, Lips., 1882.

⁵ Gildas, § 66. See Giles, *Six Old English Chronicles*, pp. 343, 344; Bright, pp. 28, 29.

of Gregory of Tours reveal a condition of moral anarchy far exceeding anything ever known in England.¹

The constitution of the Celtic Church did not differ substantially from that of the Church at large, except as to the greater power of the abbot. In South Britain and Wales there were bishops with distinct sees—at least seven when Augustine had his conference with them at Aust. The hands of the bishops and priests were anointed and blest, and they were looked upon as the successors of St. Peter. They sat in his seat, and inherited his power of binding and loosing. They were to offer sacrifice. The bishops in Ireland seemed to be tribal bishops, often located in groups of seven near each other. Throughout the whole Celtic Church the presbyter-abbot of the monastery was the leading spirit. Under him was the bishop, whom he directed even in the act of ordination.²

The monastic system was thoroughly developed. The Celtic Church might in fact be called a monastic Church. The monastery was the center of all its activities. But MONASTICISM IN THE CELTIC CHURCH. the monastery was rather a mission institute than a monastery in the ordinary sense. It was a combination of an agricultural college and a theological seminary for the purpose of training missionaries. St. David, the patron saint of Wales in the sixth century, a man of wonderful holiness, founded twelve monasteries.³ The monks were bound to the ordinary vows of obedience, poverty, and chastity. On the bank of the Dee was the great monastery of Bangor Iscoed, divided into seven sections, says Bede,⁴ each containing three hundred men, all living by manual labor. It was these monks whom Æthelfrith destroyed for their prayers in 613, at the battle of Chester. Other monasteries were Bangor Mawr, Clynnog Fahr, Cærgybi, Eulli, the burial place of saints, Llanelwy, with 965 monks, Ty-gwyn ar Daf, and three great monastic establishments at Llandaff.⁵ These monasteries were connected with the clan, and the clergy often threw themselves pas-

¹ For an instructive comparison of Bede and Gregory of Tours in this respect, see Bright, *Early Eng. Ch. Hist.*, pp. 447-450.

² Bede, iii, 5. The great council at Iona ordained Aidan, and sent him out to preach. See the able article by Mitchell on the Celtic Church in the *Schaff-Herzog Encyc.* There is still a dispute among scholars as to the exact status of the bishop in the Scotch and British Churches. But all the facts go to show that the conception of the bishops as *jure divino* head of the Church and in order higher than the presbyters was unknown.

³ Thus says his life by Rhyddmarch (11th century), which is translated in *Cambro-British Saints*, pp. 102-116, and in Pryce, *Early Brit. Ch.*, pp. 129-141. Like all the lives of British saints it is full of miracles.

⁴ iii, 2.

⁵ See Pryce, pp. 176-210.

sionately into tribal quarrels. Between Wales, Cornwall, Ireland, and Brittany there was a constant ebb and flow of missionaries. The Celtic Church was the greatest missionary Church in history.

The British Christians built churches in honor of martyrs, used the Latin service, and in many matters of this kind were like the Continental Church. No vernacular liturgy older than the eighth

LITURGY OF
THE BRITISH
CHURCH.

century has been brought to light. The reason of this is that the earliest converts to Christianity in Britain were Romans or Romanizing Britons, and Latin was understood by most of them for a long time. The writings of the British and Scoto-Irish authors of the first six centuries, all the extant gospels and psalters, and the few liturgical fragments that have survived, are in Latin.¹ The liturgy of the whole Celtic Church was modeled after the Gallican and Ephesian use, with marked characteristics of its own.²

The time of observing Easter was a bitter trial to the Roman Church. This dispute was different from that which divided Rome and the East. The Asiatics celebrated the Paschal Supper on the 14th day of the first Jewish month (Nisan), and three

THE EASTER
QUESTION.

days later the Feast of the Resurrection, on whatever day in the week it might happen to fall. These were called the Quartodecimans, or Fourteeners. The Roman Church and other Churches celebrated the 14th of Nisan *if it fell on a Friday*, otherwise on the next Friday, and Easter Day on the following Sunday. The British Church followed Rome thus far. But while Rome had discarded the Cycle or Table of measurement of Sulpicius Severus for the more correct Cycle of Victorius Aquitanus, the British Church still kept to the old Cycle.³

The tonsure was another stumbling-block. In the fourth century neither monks nor priests practiced the tonsure. In fact, the council of Carthage (398) forbade the cutting of the beard and hair, and Jerome says that Christian priests must not appear with shorn head, lest they be confounded with priests of Isis and Serapis.⁴ It was taken up by the monks of the fifth century. The Roman custom was to shave the head except a circle of hair around the head, like the crown of thorns of the Saviour. The

TONSURE.

¹ See Remains of A. W. Haddon, Oxf., 1876, a book full of learning by a profound and devout High Church scholar.

² See F. E. Warren, Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church, Lond., who gives an interesting account of all the liturgical fragments.

³ For a clear account see Cutts, Augustine of Canterbury, Lond. and Bost., 1895, pp. 132-135; Pryce, pp. 90-93.

⁴ Com. on Ezek. xlv.

Greeks shaved the head completely, and the British tonsure included the whole fore part of the head from ear to ear. Dowden, of Edinburgh, has recently put forth the theory that the British tonsure was the shaving of the fore part of the head except a narrow fringe of hair in front.¹ It was characteristic of early mediæval Christianity that the bitterest contests should gather around such ridiculous trifles as these.²

In baptism the British Church practiced single instead of trine immersion.

The marriage of the clergy was a recognized custom until a late date. In Wales, the last stronghold of British Christianity, in the latter part of the tenth century, when the clergy were enjoined not to marry without the consent of the pope, such an excitement was raised that the ancient practice was not interfered with. Marriage was taken as a matter of course. Notices of several eminent ecclesiastics have been transmitted under the title of "The MARRIAGE OF Genealogy of the Saints."³ One of the greatest of the THE CLERGY. bishops of St. Davids had four sons, one of whom succeeded him in the bishopric. Another son was elected in 1115 to the same see, although Henry I., to the great dissatisfaction of both clergy and laity, conferred the office upon a Norman, and the bishop-elect became Archdeacon of Powys.⁴ Benefices and other appointments passed lineally from father to son. As Pryce says, this usage would have been "too scandalous to be acquiesced in, had the connection been otherwise than legitimate."⁵ It was not until the

¹ See Cutts, *Augustine of Canterbury*, p. 136.

² See the letter of Abbot Ceolfrid to the King of the Scots, Bode, II. E., v, 21. He calls the British the tonsure of Simon Magus.

³ See Williams ab Ithel, *Ecel. Antiquities of the Cymry*, p. 230.

⁴ Jones and Freeman, *Hist. of St. Davids*, p. 270.

⁵ *Ancient British Church*, p. 204. Lewis is in error in attributing the silence of St. Aldhelm (d. 709) on the marriage of the clergy in his letter to the Welsh King Geruntius to the reason that clerical celibacy was now a universal custom in both the English and British Churches. See his *Hist. of Sacerdotal Celibacy*, 2d ed., enl., Bost., 1884, p. 163. The letter of Aldhelm discussed the points of difference between the two Churches. "Had the Welsh Church been schismatic in this respect, so ardent a celibatarian as Aldhelm would certainly not have omitted all reference to a subject of so much interest to him. The inference is therefore justifiable that no difference of this nature existed." But no reference to this matter is made in the conference between Augustine and the British bishops. It was only by Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury (668-690) that the marriage of the clergy in the Anglo-Saxon Church was forbidden. Rather the silence of Aldhelm must be interpreted as meaning that he knew it was useless to call in question an assured and established custom in the British Church. See Pryce, pp. 201-205, with notes. Even in Milan, in Italy,



time of Giraldus Cambrensis (1147-1222) that marriage was definitely prohibited to the clergy of Wales. After that lawful marriage was concealed under the veil of concubinage.

The British Churches had a Latin version of the Bible peculiar to themselves, different from the old Latin version and the Vulgate.

The Teutonic conquest of England is famous among foreign conquests for the thoroughness and brutality with which it was carried out and the vast results which followed it. It wiped the Britons from the face of the country. They were either exterminated or compelled to take refuge in Wales. Their Church was blotted out. It henceforth existed only in the West. When the conquest was complete the country was no longer Britain, but England; a new race, a new language, a new religion, a new civilization (or barbarism). In 410 the last Roman soldier left Britain forever. In 449, the first of the Teutonic invaders, the Jutes, made a permanent landing on the English shore. In 613, under the walls of Chester, Athelfrith forced the Britons across the Dee, and thus completed a conquest which had gone on one hundred and fifty years. The new races were the most savage and cruel of all the barbaric conquerors of Rome. Pryce says: "Their gods were Woden, to be propitiated by human sacrifice, Freya, the goddess of unhallowed love, while the attributes of Thor were set forth under the symbol of a hammer, with which he was supposed to crush the heads of his enemies." In other countries the heathen invaders in time adopted the religion and civilization of the conquered people. In England it was different. That country presented the only purely Teutonic land in the world.

The work of the conversion of the Northern Isle, therefore, had to all the priests were married in the middle of the eleventh century. See Schaff, iv, 322; Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, iv, 794. Elsewhere (pp. 285, 293, 294) Lea fully recognizes the fact that ministerial marriages were a well-established custom in Wales in the later Middle Ages. "We may almost hazard the conclusion," he says, "that notwithstanding the efforts of both ecclesiastical and secular legislators, sacerdotal marriage scarcely became obsolete in Wales before it was once more recognized as legitimate under the Reformation."

¹ Early Brit. Ch., p. 213; Ozanam, *Les Germains avant le Christianisme*, pp. 70, 74, 92. It is a matter of dispute how far the English exterminated the British. Gardiner thinks that many of the Romans faced no better than Andarida, where every Briton was slain, and that, on the other hand, the presence of Celtic words in our language proves that many of the Britons were allowed to settle as serfs among the conquerors. Student's Hist. of England, Lond. and N. Y., 1892, pp. 29, 31. Green holds that the presence of a few slaves here and there does not interfere with the awful thoroughness of the extermination. Short Hist. of the English People, Lond., 1875, p. 10.

be undertaken anew. We will let Bede tell the picturesque story of the inception of this movement in his own words :

"They say that on a certain day, when, some merchants having lately arrived, many things were collected in the market place [in Rome] for sale, and many persons had come together to buy, Gregory himself came among the rest, and saw, among other things, some boys put up for sale, of a white body and fair countenance, and also with hair of remarkable beauty. Whom when he beheld, he asked, as they say, from what region or land they were brought, and it was said that they were brought from the island of Britain, whose inhabitants were of such an aspect. Again he asked whether the same islanders were Christians, or still entangled in the errors of paganism ; and it was said that they were pagans. Then he, drawing deep sighs from the bottom of his heart, said : ' Alas, for grief that the author of Darkness possesses men of so bright countenance, and that so great grace of aspect bears a mind void of inward grace.' Then again he asked what was the name of that nation. It was answered that they were called Angles. ' It is well,' he said ; ' for they have an angelic face besides, and such it befits to be coheirs of angels in heaven.' ' What name has that province from which they were brought ? ' It was answered that the people of that province were called Deira. ' Well,' he said, ' Deira, withdrawn from anger, and called to the mercy of Christ.' ' How is the king of that province called ? ' It was answered that he was called Aella ; then he, alluding to the name, said, ' Alleluia, it behooves that the praise of God, the Creator, should be sung in those parts.' And going to the pontiff of the Roman and apostolic see [for he was not himself as yet made pontiff], he asked him to send some ministers of the word into Britain to the nation of the Angles, by whom it might be converted to Christ, saying that he himself was ready to accomplish this work, with the cooperation of the Lord, if the apostolic pope thought fit that it should be done. Which at that time he was not able to accomplish, because, although the pontiff was willing to grant him his request, the citizens of Rome could not be induced to consent that he should go so far from the city."

Gregory himself was made pope in 590. In 596 he carried out his long-cherished plan. He sent to England the Benedictine abbot, Augustine, with other monks, interpreters, letters of recommendation and instruction. With

VENERABLE
BEDE'S STORY
OF THE CON-
VERSION OF
ENGLAND.

GREGORY
SENTS AUGUS-
TINE.

¹ H. E., ii, 1, trans. Gidly, Oxf., 1870. Some think the elaborate play on the words renders this story suspicious. Schaff quotes the proverb, "Se non e vero, e molto ben trovato"—If not true, then well invented.

him he sent a Bible, a Psalter, a book of the gospels, a Martyrology, Apocryphal Lives of the Apostles, and several commentaries—the beginning of the Library of the English Church. When they reached Lerins their hearts gave way at the news they heard of the barbarous Angles. They wrote to Gregory to absolve his missionaries of their obligation. But he urged them forward.¹ They landed in the isle of Thanet, in Kent, in the spring of 597. Their fears were groundless, because Ethelbert, King of the Jutes in Kent, had married Bertha, the Christian daughter of Charibert, King of Paris; and one of the conditions of the marriage was the free exercise of her religion. The king would not immediately yield his paganism, saying: “Your words and promises are very fair, but as they are new to us, and of uncertain meaning, I cannot forsake the religion I have so long followed with the whole English nation.”² But he would allow them freedom of his kingdom for preaching and the winning of converts. After various conferences Ethelbert yielded, and with his court was baptized on Whitsunday, 597. He assigned Canterbury to Augustine, which thus became the ecclesiastical capital of England. Augustine was ordained bishop of the Angles by Vergilius, Archbishop of Arles, on November 16, 597, and in 601 received the pallium of an archbishop from the pope.

With a daring faith Gregory had already parceled out heathen England into two archiepiscopal provinces—Canterbury and York—with twelve bishoprics to each. Augustine wrote to the pope, making various inquiries as to points of discipline and teaching. Gregory replied in a tone of monastic and legalistic strictness; but in the main with good sense. In regard to the customs of Churches Gregory says: “If you have found either in the Roman or Gallican or any other Church what may be more acceptable to Almighty God, you cheerfully make choice of the same, and sedulously teach the Church of the English, which as yet is new in the faith, whatsoever you can gather from the several Churches. For things are not to be loved for the sake of places, but places for the sake of good things. Choose therefore from every Church those things that are pious, religious, and upright, and when you have, as it were, made them up into one body, let the minds of the English be accustomed thereto.”³ In regard to accommodation to heathen usages Gregory laid down the rule which has always been followed by the Roman Church. The heathen temples are to be converted into Christian

¹ See his admirable letter to Bede, i, 23.

² Bede, i, 25.

³ For these very interesting questions and answers, see Bede, i, 27. See Comments by Schaff, iv, 33, 34; Milman, ii, 180, who refers to Hume's sarcasm.

churches, relics are to be substituted for idols, and on the great festivals cattle can still be killed, not to idols, but to the praise of God. "For he who endeavors to ascend to the highest places rises by degrees or steps, and not by leaps." This rule, as Schaff says, facilitated conversion, but it swept a vast amount of heathenism into the Church.¹

Augustine now tried to form a union with the old British Church. But the imperiousness of the Roman and the obstinacy of the Britons made all negotiations in vain. The latter were required to renounce their time of Easter observance, their single immersion, and to unite with the Romans in the conversion of the English, proposals which showed how in all essentials the two Churches were at one. The British said they must love and respect the Bishop of Rome, but they could not give up their ancient customs at his dictation. The commissioners parted in anger, Augustine fiercely calling down upon the British bishops the divine vengeance. When Æthelfrith massacred the British monks at Chester, in 613, Bede saw in it a fulfillment of Augustine's curse, "these peridious men thus feeling the vengeance of temporal death, also, because they had despised the offer of eternal salvation." "This," says Schaff, "is a sad picture of the fierce animosity of the two races and rival forms of Christianity. Unhappily it continues to the present day, but with a remarkable difference: the Celtic Irish, who, like the Britons, once represented a more independent type of Catholicism, have, since the Norman conquest, and still more since the Reformation, become intense Romanists, while the English, once the dutiful subjects of Rome, have broken with that foreign power altogether, and have vainly endeavored to force Protestantism upon the conquered race. The Irish problem will not be solved until the double curse of national and religious antagonism is removed."² But the Britons in Wales have been the strongest Protestants for centuries, the Roman Church hardly having a footing in the principality, and the Celts in Scotland have long since abandoned Rome. England has really never been a dutiful child of the pope.

We pass quickly over the conversion of the other provinces of England. Edwin, the King of Northumbria, had married Æthelberga, the daughter of Æthelbert, the Christian King of Kent. The peaceable exercise of her religion was assured her. With her there

¹ Bede, i, 30.

² iv, 34, 35. Bright has some excellent remarks on this, *Early Eng. Church History*, pp. 72-76.

³ H. E., ii, 2.

⁴ Ch. Hist., iv, 37.

BACK ANTI-
THIS AN OB-
STACLE TO
THE UNION OF
THE BRITISH
AND ROMAN
CHURCHES.

went Paulinus, who had already been designated as the Archbishop of York. In a meeting, described with dramatic effect by Bede,¹ Edwin renounced his gods, and his priests led an onslaught against the idols. For thirty-six days Paulinus was engaged in baptizing, and in organizing the neighboring parishes. So great was the transformation of the people, and so benignant yet firm the rule of Edwin, that a woman might pass uninjured from sea to sea. Christianity in Northumbria suffered a temporary overthrow by the defeat and death of Edwin at Hatfield Chase, near Doncaster, 632, at the hands of the ferocious Penda, King of Mercia. It was renewed again by Aidan, the discreet and holy monk from Iona, thus bringing the Scottish (Celtic) influence to bear on English heathenism. Under him Northumbria was thoroughly Christianized.²

Wessex was converted by Birinus, who came from Pope Honorius for this purpose. Mercia, the kingdom of the great conqueror, Penda, was at length brought into the faith by the marriage of his daughter to Alchfrid, a Christian prince of Bernicia. The son of Penda, Peada, visited his sister, and became enamored of the sister of Alchfrid. Through the influence of this Christian family Peada went back to his father a baptized Christian, with four northern priests. Penda did not oppose the preaching of the faith. But with his well-merited defeat on the banks of the Aire, near Leeds (655), heathenism went to pieces throughout Mercia. It is interesting to notice the various agencies used in the conversion of England—preaching, marriages, battles.

The Scottish missionaries from Lindisfarne converted the East Saxons, and reestablished Christian services where St. Paul's Cathedral stands. Sussex was converted by the famous Bishop Wilfrid (661), who, though an English monk trained at Lindisfarne, had become by residence in Rome and foreign travel a thorough Roman partisan. Of all the English provinces, the Latins converted only the East Angles, Kent, the South Saxons, and Wessex, while the Scottish missionaries converted the great kingdoms of Northumbria and Mercia, also Bernicia and Deira,

¹ H. E., ii. 13. See Milman, ii. 187, 188; Maclear, *The Conversion of the West: the English*, pp. 49-53, who calls this one of the most striking scenes enacted in the whole history of missionary enterprise.

² On Aidan, besides the ordinary authorities, see the posthumous volume of historical sermons by Lightfoot, *Leaders of the Northern Church*, Lond., 1891, pp. 37-54, with valuable notes by Harmer. The original authority is Bede, book iii.

and the old British Christians occupied Wales and West Wales (Cornwall, Devon, and neighboring counties), the Scotch inhabiting South Strath-Clyde (Cumberland and Lancashire).

The conversion of England was the most important event in mediæval Church history. Thence have sprung the religion and civilization of the greater portion of Christendom. Thence came the unity of the English race and nation.¹ All the nobler qualities of modern civilization are the direct product of English Christianity.²

The work of the Scotch monks over so large a part of England brought up the question again as to whether the Latin or Celtic Church would control the destiny of England. Again Rome won. Wilfrid, the greatest English ecclesiastic of his time, thoroughly imbued with Roman ideas, conquered the Celts at the SYNOD OF WHITBY. synod at Whitby in 664. The leading Scottish monks, however, would not yield an inch, and returned to Scotland. Theodore, the seventh Archbishop of Canterbury (668-693), a Greek-Roman ecclesiastic of imperious temper, reduced the whole English Church to the authority of Rome. He was the organizer of the English Church. And, as the Congregationalism of New England was the type and forerunner of the American democracy, so the Church of Theodore was the prophet of the English State. "The regular subordination of priest to bishop," says Green, "of bishop to primate, in the administration of the Church, supplied a mold on which the civil organization of the State quickly shaped itself; it was the ecclesiastical synods which by their example led the way to our national Parliament, as it was the canons enacted in such synods which led the way to a national system of law."³

¹ Comp. Stubbs, *Constitutional History of England*, i, 217.

² The late Dean Church finely develops this thought in his *Gifts of Civilization and other Sermons and Lectures*, Lond., 1880. Comp. his *On the Influence of Christianity upon National Character*, Lond., 1873.

³ *Short Hist. of the English People*, ch. i, sec. i (p. 30, Lond. ed.). Comp. Lane, *Early English Church History*, Lond., 80th (Bozard, 1893, p. 91.

LITERATURE: THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

English literature is rich in contemporary materials. In the excellent editions of the Master of the Rolls these are nearly all available. The Introductions to these various works, written by the ablest historical scholars in England, are of independent value. For complete bibliographical details see Sonnenschein, *The Best Books*, pp. 406-413; Gardiner and Mullinger, *Introd. to the Study of English History*, pp. 207-301; Wright, *Biog. Brit. Literaria*, 2 vols., 1846, and the same author's *Descriptive Catal. of Materials relating to the Hist. of Great Britain and Ireland*, 3 vols., Lond., 1862-71, an invaluable critical account; the bibliographical notes in Green, *Hist. of the English People*. Many of these authorities are published also in the English Historical Society Publications, Lond., 1838-56, and translations of the most important are given in Bohn's *Antiquarian Library*.

1. Foxe, John. *Acts and Monuments of Christian Martyrs, and Matters Ecclesiastical passed in the Church of Christ, from the primitive beginning to these our days*. Lond., 1563. A thesaurus of documents and facts. Referred to with respect by Strype and other historians of the seventeenth century. Severely criticised by Maitland (in a series of Pamphlets, 1837-42) and other High Church and Roman Catholic historians, but vindicated by G. Townsend in the Preliminary Dissertation to Cattle's ed., 8 vols., Lond., 1837-41 (vol. i, pp. 1-482). It is incorrect in details, but remains a valuable source. Its errors have been corrected in later editions. Best ed. by J. Pratt and J. Stoughton, 8 vols., Lond., 1877. It was the last book ordered by the King, Parliament, and Convocation to be placed in Churches, Halls, and Colleges of England. Foxe was a fine Latin scholar, and in advance of his age in his tolerant spirit. Mullinger says that comparatively few of his statements have been disproved. (Gardiner and Mullinger, *Introd. to Study of Eng. Hist.*, p. 309.) The first three vols. deal with the pre-Reformation times. Foxe was also a pioneer in the study of Anglo-Saxon. The History ends in 1559, with appendix to 1574.
2. Fuller, Thomas. *Church History of Britain from the Birth of Christ until 1648*. Lond., 1656; ed. by Nichols, 3 vols., Lond., 1837; ed. by Brewer, 6 vols., 1845 (best ed.). Quaintly written, with witty and wise observations.
3. Collier, J. *Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain to Death of Charles II.* Lond., 1708-14. New ed. by Lathbury, 9 vols., 1849. A learned work by a High Church divine. Warburton used to say that there were only "two genuine histories of our Church of importance, those by Collier the non-juror, and Fuller the jester."
4. Rock, D. (R. C.). *The Church of our Fathers*. Lond., 1849-54, new ed., 1893, 3 vols.

5. Hook, W. F. *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*. 12 vols. Lond., 1860-77.
 6. Haddon, A. W., and Stubbs, W. *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*. 3 vols. Lond., 1869-78. An inestimable collection, founded on Spelman and Wilkins, *Concilia*.
 7. Stubbs, W. *Constitutional Hist. of England (to 1485)*. 3 vols. Lond., 1874-78; new ed., 1883. A monumental work. Stubbs's, Hallam's, and May's *Constitutional Histories* form a connected series.
 8. Herford, B. *Story of Religion in England*. Lond., 1878. A brilliant sketch by a Unitarian. See *Crit. Rev.*, iii, 425.
 9. Perry, G. G. *Student's Manual of English Church History*. 3 vols. Lond., 1878-87. An excellent work from a moderately High Church point of view.
 10. Bridgett, T. E. (R. C.). *Hist. of the Holy Eucharist in Great Britain*. 2 vols. Lond., 1881. A scholarly investigation of wider scope than the title would indicate.
 11. Lumby, J. R. *English Church History*. Lond., 1885.
 12. Lane, C. A. *English Church History*. 2 vols., 1886; 80th thousand, rev., 1893.
 13. Hunt, W. *The English Church in the Middle Ages*. Lond., 1889. Valuable. See *Presb. Rev.*, x (1889), 321; *Church Quar. Rev.*, xxx, 264.
 14. Allies, M. H. (R. C.). *The Church in England, A. D. 30-1509*. Lond., 1892.
 15. Ingram, T. D. *England and Rome: A History of their Relations*. Lond. and N. Y., 1892. An able work by an English layman.
- Special works in the order of the periods treated are:*
1. Ussher, J. *Britannicarum ecclesiarum Antiquitates quibus inserta est Pelagianæ Hereseos historia*, 1639. A work of twenty years' labor, and of fine critical penetration. In *Works*, Dublin Univ. Press, 16 vols., 1842-48.
 2. Stillingfleet, E. *Origines Britannicæ*. Lond., 1685, new ed., 1840. Learned discussions. A "surprising mixture of critical and uncritical research."
 3. Smith, George. *The Religion of Ancient Britain Historically Considered*. Lond., 1844; new ed., 1865. Smith was a layman of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, who in his mansion at Camborne, Cornwall, employed his learned leisure in writing historical works. His best work is his *History of Wesleyan Methodism*. 3 vols. Lond., 1859-62; new ed., 1865.
 4. Haddon, A. W. *The Churches of the British Confession*. In his *Remains*, ed. A. P. Forbes. Lond., 1876.
 5. Pryce, J. *The Ancient British Church*. Lond., 1873. An excellent historical survey.
 6. Loofs, Friedrich. *De Antiqua Britonum Scotorumque Ecclesia*. Leipz., 1882.
 7. Newell, E. J. *Hist. of the Ancient British Church*. Lond., 1887. Scholarly. See *Church Quar. Rev.*, Lond., xxvi, 251.
 8. Alexander, W. L. *The Ancient British Church*. Lond., 1889.
 9. Cathcart, W. *The Ancient British and Irish Churches*. Phila., 1893. Written to portray Baptist anticipations in the history.
 10. Soames, H. *The Latin Church during the Anglo-Saxon Times*. Lond., 1848. *The Anglo-Saxon Church: its History, Rites, and Character*. Lond., 1828, new ed., 1856. Corrected by Lingard.

11. Lingard, J. History and Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church. 2 vols. Lond., 1845.
12. Bright, W. Chapters of Early English Church History. Lond., 1878; rev. ed., 1888. The story told exhaustively and critically. See Church Quar. Rev., vi, 237; xxviii, 228.
13. Lappenberg, J. M. Hist. of England under Anglo-Saxon Kings. 2 vols. Lond., 1845. See the works of Palgrave, Kerable, and others mentioned by Sonnenschein. pp. 407, 408.
14. Giles, J. A. Memorials of King Alfred. Lond., 1863. Thomas Hughes has told the story of Alfred with excellent spirit. Lond., 1870; new ed., 1878. Best, new ed., 1899. The best modern life is Pauli, ed. by D. Thorpe. Lond., 1852.
15. Memorials of St. Dunstan, ed. W. Stubbs. Lond., 1847.
16. Eadmer (12th Cent.). Vita S. Anselmi. Leipz., 1886.
17. Hassé, F. G. Anselm von Canterbury. 2 vols., 1843-52. Abt's tr. by W. Turner, Lond., 1850. Thorough and authoritative.
18. Reussat, C. Anselm de Canterbury. Paris, 1853; 2d ed., 1868.
19. Church, R. W. St. Anselm. Lond., 1870; new ed., 1888-92. A faithful and brilliant sketch.
20. Rule, M. Life and Times of St. Anselm. Lond., 1883. See a scathing review of this work by R. L. Poole in Modern Rev., iv, 424-428. "The author's interest is confined to the mean, the trivial, the temporary; and he is as ignorant of philosophy as he is of history." "In everything there is the same defiance of historical method, the same ignorance of the choice and use of authorities, the same dependence upon irrelevant evidence and straining of it until the original meaning is entirely destroyed or inverted." Church Quar. Rev., xvi, 476-479, is equally unfavorable, though not so outspoken. An excellent sketch of Anselm is in W. H. D. Adams, Great English Churchmen. Lond., 1879, pp. 1-69. For bibliography of Becket see below *in loco*.
21. Perry, G. G. Life of St. Hugh, Bishop of Lincoln. Lond., 1873. Chr. Wordsworth, St. Hugh, in Church Quar. Rev., ix, 29, ff., and in Miscellanies, vol. iii. Magna Vita S. Hugonis, a contemp. Life, ed. by J. F. Dimock in Reals Series, 1864.
22. Maurice, C. E. Lives of English Popular Leaders in Middle Ages. 2 vols. Lond., 1872-75.

The secular histories must be consulted throughout. The civil and ecclesiastical currents intermingle constantly.

CHAPTER XX.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES.

THE latter part of the Saxon period—the eighth and ninth centuries—was the Golden Age of the English Church. The Church was firmly established everywhere, and was revered by the people. The clergy sat with the nobles in local and national assemblies. At official gatherings they took precedence of the gentry. Both orders worked together in peace for the Church. The principle of lay representation was recognized. The nobles had an equal voice with the clergy in ecclesiastical legislation. In the witenagemots laws were enacted for State and Church, as now in the English Parliament. Hunt says: “Bishops were usually appointed, and often elected, in the witenagemots. Wilfrith was elected by ‘common consent’ in a meeting of the Northumbrian witan, and the election of Baldheim by the West Saxon assembly is said to have been made by the great men, the clergy, and a multitude of people.”¹ Even in the distinctively ecclesiastical councils kings and nobles were present and joined in attesting the proceedings. It is sometimes difficult to tell whether an assembly was a council or a witan. Monasteries were frequent, and in Northumbria they were the homes of learning. Their fame was in all the known world. The libraries of Europe were ransacked for treasures for the Anglo-Saxon monasteries.

UNION OF
CHURCH AND
STATE.

An interesting question is the relation of the Anglo-Saxon Church to Rome. On the one hand, the pope was considered the successor of St. Peter, the spiritual head of Christendom, and the Roman Church the chief Church of the world.² No less than eight English kings are said to have paid their homage in person to the pope. Monastic charters were secured from him.³ Gregory the Great divided England into two provinces. Vitalian placed all the Anglo-Saxon territory under the jurisdiction of Theodore of Canterbury. Leo I established a second metropolitan at York; Adrian, a third at Litchfield. Leo III revoked the grant to Litchfield, and confirmed precedence to

RELATION OF
ANGLO-SAXON
AND ROMAN
CHURCHES.

¹ The English Church in the Middle Ages, p. 29.

² Bede, ii, i, 4; Op. Min., ii, 336. See Lingard, Hist. and Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church, i, 103, ff.

³ Bede, H. E., iv, 18.

Canterbury. The archbishop received his pallium from the pope. About 787 two legates came from Pope Adrian and held councils. On the other hand, this reverence for the Roman see did not pass into slavish obedience.¹ The bishops were appointed without reference to Rome. When Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, was ousting all the English bishops he procured the deposition of Wulstan, Bishop of Worcester. "I know my own insufficiency," said Wulstan, "and in deference to the sentence of this holy synod I will give up my pastoral staff, not to you, however, but to him who gave it to me." He then rose and laid his crozier on the marble tomb of Edward the Confessor. Wulstan's deposition was thereupon abandoned.

All details of spiritual oversight were regulated by these assemblies of clergymen and laymen without reference to the papal authority. When the pope took Wilfrid's side in his celebrated quarrel, even so zealous a Catholic as Benedict Biscop, who had five times visited Rome, paid no attention to the papal requisitions. The most eminent prelates of the English Church at that time sided with the national Church in that quarrel and without the slightest consciousness of blame.² Ingram, who has thoroughly investigated the ecclesiastical relations of England and Rome, says that the "Saxon kings assumed without question, and as a matter of course, an authority in the Church which differed in no respect from the later Tudor supremacy, so called, as if it were peculiar to that family. They carried out a right to correct, to reform, and to legislate in ecclesiastical affairs. They asserted over the Church the same rights which Constantine, who convoked general councils, presided in them, prescribed the subjects of debate, and confirmed their decrees, had exercised over the empire. This is shown by the celebrated address of Edgar the Pacific to the English clergy.³ Edward the Confessor, a canonized saint, claimed as king to be the vicar of God, appointed for the high purpose of ruling and defending the Church.⁴ No subsequent English sovereign made so large a claim."⁵

¹ See Bright, *Early Eng. Ch. History*, pp. 296, 297.

² See William of Malmesbury, *Gest. Part.*, 240 (Rolls Series). Comp. the able and thorough book by J. Dunbar Ingram, *England and Rome*, Lond., 1892, pp. 25-28.

³ In *Twydden Scriptores*, x, 360.

⁴ *Rex autem qui vicarius Summi Regis est, ad hoc constitutus est, ut regnum et populum Domini, et super omnia, sanctam ecclesiam regat et defendat ab injuriis, maleficos autem destruat et evellat. . . . Illos vocari decet reges qui vigilanter defendant et regunt ecclesiam Dei et populum ejus.*—*Reges Edwardi*. Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, p. 193. These are remarkable words, and fully bear out the statement of Ingram.

⁵ *England and Rome*, pp. 12, 13.

The Danish conquest was carried on with wholesale brutalities. The first Northmen landed about the year 990, and the first Danish king came to the English throne in 1017. In that terrible interval the Church was in some places scourged from the face of the earth. Churches and monasteries were destroyed and the monks and clergy were slain. It was a long and fiercely contested fight. The great name of Alfred now appears as warrior, statesman, scholar, saint,

"King to Justice dear,
Lord of the harp and liberating spear;
Mirror of princes."

Alfred not only conquered the Danes, but, what was better, since they were in England to stay, converted them. Guthrum and his followers gave up all attempt to conquer Wessex, and were baptized near Athelney, 878. In the demoralization which came with the Danish incursions learning had been swept away. "Formerly," said Alfred, "foreigners came to this land in search of wisdom and instruction, and we must now get these abroad. There is not south of the Thames a man able to translate Latin into English. When I considered all this I remembered how I saw, before it had all been ravaged and burnt, how the Churches throughout the whole of England stood filled with treasures and books, and there was also a great multitude of God's servants, and they had very little knowledge of the books, for they could not understand anything of them, because they were not written in their own language." He says it was wonderful why in former times "good and wise men who were all over England" wrote no translations. Still there were many left who "can read English writing." Remembering which "I began among other various and manifold troubles of this kingdom to translate into English the book which is called in Latin *Pastoralis*, and in English *Shepherd's Book* [*Hirdeboec*—Gregory's *Pastoral Care*], sometimes word for word, and sometimes according to the sense, as I had learnt it from Plegmund, my archbishop, and Asser, my bishop, and Grimbald, my mass-priest, and John, my mass-priest."¹ To show the catholicity of Alfred's search after learned men it is interesting to notice that Plegmund was an Anglo-Saxon, Asser a Welshman (Briton), Grimbald a Frank, and John a Saxon. Asser was to Alfred what Alcuin was to Charles the Great, the founder of schools and literature. In his literary work, as Jusserand well says, Alfred "chooses books likely to fill up the greatest gaps in the minds of his countrymen,

¹ See H. Sweet, *King Alfred's West-Saxon version of Gregory's Pastoral Care*, with an Eng. transl., Lond., Early Eng. Text Soc., 1871-72, p. 2.

‘books which are most needful for all men to know,’ the book of Orosius, which will be for them as a handbook of Universal History; the Ecclesiastical History of Bede, that will instruct them concerning their own past. He teaches laymen their duties with the Consolation of Boethius, and ecclesiastics with the Pastoral Rule of St. Gregory.”¹ Of all these he attached most importance to the last, and sent a copy to each of his bishops. ‘The copy sent to Werferth, Bishop of Worcester, can still be seen in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.’² The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, begun at Alfred’s order, is the earliest history which any European nation possesses in its own tongue. But Alfred’s greatness, after all, was in himself rather than in what he did. “No other king ever showed forth so well in his own person the truth of the saying, ‘He that would be first among you, let him be the servant of all.’”³

The Danes and the English were of the same blood. They mingled together, and eventually could not be distinguished. The final conversion of the Danes removed the last barrier from the complete amalgamation and consolidation of the two peoples.

The influence of the Church is illustrated in the history of St. Dunstan, the forerunner of Becket, and the first of the long list of ecclesiastical statesmen. He was born at Glastonbury in 924 or 925. He was educated by Irish monks at Glastonbury, and he excelled in all the arts of the time except those of the warrior. He became Abbot of Glastonbury, and later chief treasurer of the kingdom. When Edwin, the king, 955, left the witan’s banquet of coronation, to seek the society of Elgiva, his kinswoman, with whom he was enamored, Dunstan was sent by the witan, to bring him back to the banquet. To separate the two Dunstan had used violence. This so enraged the mother of Elgiva that Dunstan was obliged to flee. But under the reign of Edwin’s two successors, Edgar and Edward, Dunstan, now Archbishop of Canterbury, regained his influence. Dunstan was a statesman, rather than an ecclesiastic. He had the statesman’s instinct for conciliation and compromise. The Danes were to be allowed their own laws, and their peaceable assimilation was encouraged. The great caldormen were to be conciliated, not repressed. The standard of knowledge and morality was to be raised. Foreign teachers were

¹ Jusserand, *Literary Hist. of the English people*, N. Y., 1895, vol. i, p. 82.

² All these works of Alfred have been published by the Early English Text Society, with Introductions and Notes by various scholars. The authenticity of the supposed Alfredian translation of Bede is doubtful. See the *Introd.* by J. Miller, 1890.

³ Gardiner, S. R., *Student’s Hist. of England*, p. 60.

brought in. In the great movement to bring the Clunian strictness into the monasteries, to supplant the secular clergy at the cathedrals with monks, and to enforce celibacy on the parish priests, Dunstan took a moderate interest. He neither enforced celibacy on his priests nor threw them out of the cathedral to make way for monks. He spent his old age in the government of his diocese and in the pursuits of literature, music, and the finer handicrafts, to which he was always attached. Stubbs well calls him the Gerbert, not the Hildebrand, of the tenth century.¹

Three times England had been conquered by pagans. Its fourth and last conquest was by Christians. On October 13, 1066, THE NORMAN CONQUEST. Harold, the bravest and most patriotic Englishman of his time, after one of the most stubbornly contested battles in history, went down before the lances of William the Conqueror. The Norman conquest had no profound influence on English Christianity. Church development went on very much as before. William, indeed, thrust Norman prelates into nearly all the sees and abbey stalls of England; but this did not change the ordinary course of affairs. The principal change was the withdrawal of the clergy WILLIAM AND LANFRANC. from the witenagemot, and the government of the Church through clerical synods. William's ideal of clerical character was high. He appointed only the best men, and held them to their best work. In this he had a helper after his own heart in the great teacher and theologian, Lanfranc, whom he appointed Archbishop of Canterbury in 1070. This learned Italian, long domiciled in the Norman monasteries, was one of the leaders of that reform in ecclesiastical life which sprang from Clugny, and was championed by Hildebrand. The monks were compelled to keep the rules of their order, and to give themselves to learning. The canons of the cathedrals were forced to send away their wives, and in the future no priests should marry. The married clergy in the country, however, were allowed to keep their wives. With the help of Lanfranc, William put new life into the English Church.²

Perhaps it was William's interest in a pure Church which kept

¹ *Introd. to Memorials of Dunstan* (Rolls Series), Lond., 1874, which gives the best biography and estimate of Dunstan. There is a suggestive and scholarly treatment in E. W. Robertson, *Hist. Essays*, Edinb., 1872, essays on Dunstan's Policy and the Coronation of Edgar. Hume's account, like that in ordinary histories, is worthless. Gardiner is better than Green. Comp. Prof. Tout, in *Dict. of Eng. Hist.* (Pulling and Low), pp. 394, 395.

² On the administration of this great ecclesiastic, see *Church, St. Anselm*, ch. vii; *Freeman, Norman Conquest*, iv, 345-450. For the Works of Lanfranc and the *Chronicles of Bec*, see Giles, *Opera Lanfr.*, Oxf., 1844, 2 vols. The *Ecl. Hist. of Odericus Vitalis* also contains original materials.

Hildebrand at peace with him. For the Norman-English king was by no means inclined to surrender to the papal autocracy. William appointed bishops and abbots by giving them investiture, as the presenting of the ring and staff was called. He declared that no pope should be obeyed in England who was not acknowledged such by himself, that no papal wills and letters should have any force until he had allowed them, and that the decrees of an ecclesiastical synod should bind no one until he had confirmed them. When, at a later time, Gregory required William to do homage to the see of Rome, William refused, on the ground that homage had never been rendered by his predecessors. To all this Gregory submitted."¹ And

WILLIAM AND HILDEBRAND. he submitted because power in the hands of William was used, not to waste the Church, but to increase its spirituality and effectiveness. "Hubert, your legate," writes William to the pope, "coming to me on your behalf, admonished me, religious Father, that I should do fealty to you and your successors, and that, touching the money which my predecessors were accustomed to send to the Roman Church, I should take better order. The one claim I have admitted, and the other I have not admitted. Fealty I neither have been willing to do, nor will I do it now, for I never promised it; and I find not that my predecessors did it to yours." In the great conflict between Gregory and Henry, William did not take sides, but the letter of Lanfranc proves that the English king reserved the right to form his own judgment and take his own course.²

¹ S. R. Gardiner, *Student's Hist. of England*, p. 108. See Ingram, *England and Rome*, pp. 13, 14.

² On the ecclesiastical administration of William, see Church, *St. Anselm*, pp. 146-174.

CHAPTER XVI.

ST. ANSELM.

AOSTA is a gloomy old Piedmontese town lying among the smiling orchards and vineyards near the opening of the great St. Bernard Pass. It abounds in ruins of the Roman period, and to the modern traveler recalls the story of Calvin while giving wise counsel to the unhappy Queen Renata of Este. Myers thus sings its natural beauties :

"Far off the old snows ever new
With silver edges cleft the blue
Aloft, alone, divine;
The sunny meadows silent slept,
Silence the somber armies kept,
The vanguard of the pine.

"In that thin air the birds are still,
No ringdove murmurs on the hill,
Nor mating cushat calls;
But gay cicadas singing sprang,
And waters from the forest sang
The song of waterfalls."¹

Here Anselm was born about 1033. His father was a rough and violent man and a spendthrift. His mother was a devout woman, who brought up her son in the ways of piety. After the death of his mother his father's harshness drove Anselm from home. He crossed the Alps into France, and followed Lanfranc to the newly founded monastery of Bec, in Normandy. This had been founded about 1034 by Herlwin, a noble who became tired of the wild and fierce life led by the barons of that time. The fame of Lanfranc made it one of the most illustrious seats of learning in the Middle Ages. By the "irony of fate," after a Colbert, a Rochefoucault, and a Bourbon Condé had held the abbacy, the last successor of Anselm was M. de Talleyrand. Anselm became monk in 1060, prior in 1063, and abbot from 1078 to 1093. Lanfranc found a ready pupil in his brother Italian, a man after his own heart in zeal for learning, godliness, and all high and noble pursuits. Lanfranc was called to England, and

¹ For Aosta, see Aubert's *Valleé d' Aoste*, and Church, *St. Anselm*, pp. 9-13.

the pupil stepped into the master's place. Church says: "The man who succeeded him was one who, to childlike singleness and tenderness of heart, joined an originality and power of thought which rank him, even to this day, among the few discoverers of new paths in philosophical speculation. Anselm was one of those devout enthusiasts after exact truth who try the faculties of the human mind to the uttermost, and to whom the investigation of new ideas, pushed to their simplest forms and ultimate grounds, takes the place of the passions and objects of life. He had all that dialectical subtlety and resource which awakening mind in half-barbarous times exacts from and admires in its guides; but he had also, besides this, which was common enough, the daring and the force to venture by himself into real depths and difficulties of thought, such as have been tried by the greatest of modern thinkers, and in which lie the deepest problems of our times. Fixed at Bee,¹ the philosophic inquirer settled to his toil, and reverently and religiously, yet fearlessly, gave his reason its range. His biographer records the astonishment caused by his attempts to 'unravel the darkest, and before his time the unsolved and unusual questions concerning the divine nature and our faith, which lay hid, covered by much darkness, in the divine Scriptures.' 'For,' adds Eadmer, 'he had such confidence in them that with immovable trust of heart he felt convinced that there was nothing in them contrary to solid truth. Therefore he bent his purpose most earnestly to this, that according to his faith it might be vouchsafed to him to perceive by his mind and reason the things which were veiled in them.'"²

Out of these meditations came the Monologion, an attempt, by the reason, without the aid of Scripture, and by plain and simple argument, to elicit the idea of God, as including also a belief in the Word and Spirit, and to justify it. His chief method is by postulating the existence of certain qualities in men and nature which undeniably exist to mount up to the ground of their existence in a perfect and transcendent Being. Out of severer and more

ANSELM'S
WORKS.

painful meditations, as out of birth-pangs, came his Proslogion, in which for the first time was laid the foundation of the ontological argument for the existence of God, which was revived by Descartes, and which has had a great fascination for deep thinkers, especially in France and Germany. The thought of the Proslogion is this: the idea of God in the human mind necessarily involves the reality of that idea. With mas-

¹ Bee is twenty-one miles from Bironne. The best account is Church, ch. ii.

² St. Anselm, pp. 81, 82.

terly boldness and originality this great pioneer develops this argument.¹

Anselm was more than a thinker. He was an inspiring teacher, of wide sympathies, who drew his pupils to him by his tact, moderation, and gentleness. He was the confidant of the monks and students, to whom they went for sympathy and help. In the infirmary no nurse could exceed his assiduity and kindness. He anticipated our modern method of school management. He substituted a study of individual needs by seeking to draw out the best that was in each pupil, and this by kindness, gentleness, and firmness, for the common method of forcing all into a common mold by brutal punishments. What those punishments must have been in that fierce and bloody time need not be told when we remember what they were even in our own boyhood. Eadmer tells of a lesson an abbot received on school training. "What am I to do with the boys in my monastery?" asked the abbot of Anselm. "Do what we will, they are perverse and incorrigible; we do not cease beating them day and night, and they only get worse." "And what do they turn into when they grow up?" said Anselm. "They turn only dull and brutal." "Well, you have had bad luck in the pains you spend on their training," said Anselm, "if you only turn them into beasts." "But what are we to do then?" said the abbot. "In every kind of way we constrain them to improve, and it's no use." "Constrain them! Tell me, my lord abbot, if you planted a tree in your garden, and tied it up on all sides so that it could not stretch forth its branches, what sort of a tree would it turn out when, after some years, you gave it room to spread? Would it not be good for nothing, full of tangled and crooked boughs? And whose fault would this be but yours, who had put such constant restraint upon it? And this is just what you do with your boys. You plant them in the garden of the Church, that they may grow and bear fruit to God. But you so cramp them round with terrors and threats and blows that they are utterly debarred from the enjoyment of any freedom. And thus injudiciously kept down they collect in their minds evil thoughts tangled like thorns; they cherish and feed them, and with dogged temper elude all that might help to correct them. And hence it comes that they see nothing in you of love, or kindness, or good will; they cannot believe that you mean any good by them, and put down all you do to dislike and ill nature. Hatred and mistrust

ANSELM AS A
TEACHER.

ANSELM'S
TREATMENT
OF YOUTH.

¹ Eadmer describes the long, anxious thought which preceded the great joy of the dawn of this idea, which flooded his soul with glory as the sight of a new ocean from a peak in Darien.

grow with them as they grow; and they go about with downcast eyes, and cannot look you in the face. But, for the love of God, I wish you would tell me why you are so harsh with them. Are they not human beings? Would you like, if you were what they are, to be treated as you treat them? You try by blows and stripes to fashion them to good; did you ever see a craftsman fashion a fair image out of a plate of gold or silver by blows alone? Does he not with his tools now gently press and strike it, now with wise art gently raise and shape it? So, if you mold your boys to good, you must, along with the stripes which are to bow them down, lift them up and assist them by fatherly kindness and gentleness." Anselm continues to argue for tact and consideration in the treatment of the young—a beautiful plea, the urgent need of which has not yet passed away.

William the Conqueror was succeeded by his second son, William Rufus (the Red), 1087, who had all his father's indomitable will and imperious temper, without his conception of right or obedience to conscience. He was utterly self-willed, blasphemous, and restrained by no religious scruples. He was a ruffian, a robber, and a debauchee. Under the terror of an illness he repented and promised amendment. When he arose from his bed, he, however, plunged into his former wickedness. "God shall never see me a good man," he said. "I have suffered too much at his hands." Of all the clerks (clergymen) who did the writing at the court, he advanced Ranulf Flambard (Ralph the Firebrand) to the highest secular office, that of Justiciar, because he was the coarsest, most unscrupulous, and most cruel. The people groaned under his brutal exactions.

In 1089 Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, died, and for four years William Rufus kept the see vacant, as was his wont in such cases, that he might appropriate the resources. Finally, in 1093, supposing himself to be a dying man, he yielded to the persuasions of his bishops, and appointed Anselm as the successor of the great master. Anselm had been an occasional visitor to England, to look after the lands of the monastery of Bee, which were situated there, and these visits had endeared him to many of the English clergy for his courtesy, character, learning, and kindness. But Anselm knew the situation, and, with genuine reluctance, refused the honor. The incident is characteristic of the age. When Anselm refused to go to the bedside to receive the pastoral staff the bishops covered him with reproaches and expostulations. At last they dragged him by force to the room. Still holding out, the

WILLIAM RU-
FUS, THE RED.

ANSELM'S RE-
LUCTANT AC-
CEPTANCE OF
THE SEE OF
CANTER-
BURY.

bishops and bystanders grew "angry with themselves for their own irresolution. The cry arose, 'A pastoral staff, a pastoral staff!' They dragged him to the king's bedside and held out his right arm to receive the staff. But when the king presented it Anselm kept his hand firmly clinched. They tried by main force to wrench it open, and when he cried out with the pain of their violence they at last held the staff closely pressed against his still closed hand. Amid the shouts of the crowd, 'Long live the bishop!' with the *Te Deum* of the bishops and clergy, he was carried rather than led to a neighboring church, still crying out, 'It is naught that ye are doing, it is naught that ye are doing.'" When the farce was over Anselm addressed the bishops, and asked them why they had yoked an old and feeble sheep with a wild bull. He would only be the victim of violence which he would be helpless to prevent. Then, when the conflict came, they would not stand by him. And when he was crushed they too would find themselves under the king's feet.¹

After William recovered Anselm laid down the conditions under which he would accept. All the possessions of the see as Lanfranc had held them must be restored. In things pertaining to God the king must take him as his counselor and spiritual father as he took the king for his earthly lord and defender. In the quarrel going on between the two popes, Urban and the antipope Clement, who was recognized by the emperor, as Anselm, with the rest of the Norman Church, had acknowledged Urban, he could not swerve from his former position. William gave at least a partial promise, and as Anselm could not endure longer the reproach that he was standing in the way of the recovery of the wasted Church of England, the gentle abbot of Bee was consecrated to the see of his departed friend, December 4, 1093, in the presence of nearly all the English bishops.

Now the fight began. There were several points of contention: Anselm would not allow the right of the permanent alienation of Church lands which William had given to his vassals since the death of Lanfranc; Anselm wanted the king's aid in bridding the fearful immorality of the times; the vacant bishoprics and abbacies must be filled up: a council was desired, "by which Christian religion, which had well-nigh perished in many men might be restored." This was refused in a wrathful manner by the king.² Then Anselm desired the permission to go

CONFLICT OF
ANSELM WITH
WILLIAM
RUFUS.

¹ Eadmer, H. N., i, p. 36; Ans. Ep., iii. i; Church, St. Anselm, pp. 217-222; Hasso, Life of Anselm, tr. Turner, pp. 72-78.

² See the account of the dramatic interview in Church, p. 232.

to Rome to receive the pallium from Pope Urban. "If you receive in my realm," said William, "Urban or anyone else for pope, without my choice and authority, or if having received him you hold to him, you act against the faith you hold to me, and offend me not less than if you tried to deprive me of my crown. Therefore be assured that in my realm you shall have no part, unless I have the proof by plain declarations that, according to my wish, you refuse all submission and obedience to Urban." Also, Anselm was thoroughly in sympathy with the Gregorian reforms for the purification of the Church and its emancipation from the dictation of the State. Thus he stood squarely with the pope, that the right of investiture, that is, of conferring the ring and crosier upon bishops, belonged to the Church and not to the State. Unless the pope, therefore, would signify that in the case of England this right might be remitted, Anselm would not surrender to the king.

Such were the features of this historic quarrel in which a venerable scholar, one of the mildest and most devout and unworldly of men, was measured against one of the most brutal and godless tyrants in all history. The details will be found in the garrulous pages of old Eadmer and Oderic Vitalis, and in the noble biography by Church. It is a fascinating story, of almost romantic interest. The quarrel was suspended by the death of the king in the New Forest, August 2, 1100, by a stray or intentional arrow, but it was carried over into Henry I's reign, and was finally settled by a sensible compromise. In the presence of Anselm, the multitude standing by, the king granted and decreed that from that time forth forever no one should be invested in England with bishopric or abbey by staff and ring, either by the king or any lay hand. Anselm also allowed that no one elected to a prelacy should be refused consecration on account of homage done to the king. This,

ANSELM AND HENRY I. then, having been settled, fathers were appointed by the king, by the counsel of Anselm and the chief man of the realm, without any investiture of the pastoral staff and ring, in nearly all the Churches in England which had long been deprived of their pastors. The ring and staff, signs of spiritual jurisdiction, were kept in the hands of the Church. The wealth and temporal power of the bishops, who were really barons, were to be at the king's disposal when occasion demanded. The chapters were to elect their bishop and the monks their abbot, but only in the king's presence, thus giving him influence over their choice. The victory was really Anselm's, and it was won, as Church remarks, chiefly by the respect that was rendered to his spotless character and great attainments. Anselm died April 21, 1109.

In this age and from our standpoint we sympathize rather with the king than with the archbishop. We know to what that Tiberian usurpation grew and on what a basis of fraud and unhistoric pretensions it rested. But the eleventh-century did not know that. Anselm and his opponents equally revered the pope. William and his time-serving bishops could say nothing when Anselm made his great plea: "You want me to swear, in order that you may feel safe of me, that I will never more appeal to St. Peter or his vicar. This is a demand which as a Christian you ought not to make. For to swear this is to forswear St. Peter, and to forswear St. Peter is to forswear Christ, who made him chief over his Church. When I deny Christ, then I will readily pay the penalty in your court for asking for this license." Anselm appealed to the only recognized court of his time against the lawless violence of the king. Anselm could not foresee that that court would itself become a throne of lawlessness as an instrument of an unscrupulous and unspiritual tyranny. But that spiritual and august tribunal, whom all men acknowledged as holding its authority directly from God, was the only barrier that the times knew against the swellings of that feudal and kingly despotism that trampled upon the sanctions of God and the rights of men. There was no appeal to law in England. But "there was a very real and living law in Christendom, a law, as we know now, of very mixed and questionable growth, yet in those days unsuspected and in its character far more complete, rational, and imposing than any other code which had grown up in that stage of society—equal, impartial, with living and powerful sanctions." The appeal of Anselm was not against the king and constitution of England to a foreign power, as we would now interpret it, but was the "only appeal practicable then from arbitrary rule to law."¹

ANSELM'S AP-
PEAL TO
ROME.

Gardiner says that the temporary truth of one century may cease to be the temporary truth of another, and that, therefore, the "day would come when those who were most bitterly opposed to the Roman see would be those who most truly maintained the principles of Anselm. His spirit rests with the men who in the seventeenth century passed the Toleration Act and founded the liberty of the press."²

¹ Church, *St. Anselm*, pp. 268, 269; see also pp. 266-268, 280-317.

² In Gardiner and Mallinger, *Introd. to Study of English History*, pp. 353, 354.

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CHAPTER XXII.

THOMAS BECKET.

THE curse of the English Church in the Middle Ages was the despotism of kings and the secularism of bishops. The bishops were little better than fighting barons possessed of immense lands and numerous retainers. Very few of them had any conception of the spiritual calling of the ministry. After Anselm's death Henry kept the see vacant for five years. Political or personal considerations governed all matters relating to the Church. The king secularized the Church in order to make it serve the State. Under the troublesome reign of Stephen, 1135-54, the Roman Church gained more power. The king put forth a charter in which he said that he was "king by the grace of God, elected by the clergy and people, hallowed by William, archbishop and legate, and confirmed by Innocent, pontiff of the Holy Roman See," and in which he promised to avoid simony, and that the persons and property of clerks should be under the jurisdiction of their bishops. It was one of the objects of Rome to diminish the power of the English Church by superseding so far as possible the authority of the archbishops of Canterbury by a papal legate. Appeals to Rome became common. When Stephen imprisoned the bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln for suspected disloyalty he was made to appear before the papal legate stripped of his royal robes, and humbly received his censure for having "stretched out his hand against the Lord's anointed." Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1139-61, tried to restore the Church somewhat. He also recommended Thomas of London to Henry II to be appointed to the office of chancellor. He brought over Vacarius from Italy to lecture in civil law in Oxford. This was soon followed by the study of common law. Thus the clergy had their own code.

DESPOTIC
KINGS AND
SECULAR
BISHOPS.

In 1154 Henry II came to the throne. He was harsh, stern, unscrupulous, and imperious. He had the temper of a fiend, but with a rough patriotism. He was a man of ceaseless energy both of mind and body. Henry's first work was to restore order in England by crushing the barons and making all the castles his own. In this work of restoration to the customs of Henry I his chief helper was his able chancellor, Thomas

HENRY II AND
HIS CHANCELLOR, THOMAS
BECKET.

of London,¹ the son of Gilbert Becket, a wealthy trader. When a young man in business Thomas gained the attention of Archbishop Theobald, who induced him to devote himself to clerical studies. He studied at Bologna, Paris, and Auxerre. Theobald made him rector of St. Mary-le-Strand and Oxford in Kent, and prebendary of St. Paul's and Lincoln, and in 1154 archdeacon of Canterbury and Provost of Beverley. The duties of none of these offices were performed by Thomas, but were simply royal dignities. He carefully appropriated the revenues, however. His mind was thoroughly secular. In his chancellorship he seconded all of Henry's efforts to reform the kingdom and raise money, even to the levying sentage on the Church lands, a measure that was strongly opposed by Theobald. He magnified his high office and lived in great splendor. Everyone remarked the glory of his equipage when he went to France in 1158 to arrange the marriage of his pupil, the young prince. And underneath all this worldly enthusiasm was a heart as leonine as Henry's own. In the expedition to Toulouse in 1159 he equipped and led a regiment, and he was in the front of the fight, his brave battle-ax felling many a knight.

Henry found that to bring all things in England under the royal hand he must deal with the Church. The Conqueror had exempted the Church from supervision of the secular courts in all ecclesiastical cases, and under Stephen they had also secured immunity even in civil cases. The ecclesiastical courts were much more lenient than the secular code. They could not inflict death, and their other punishments were far less brutal than the cruel methods of the civil law. This led many to seek the lower sacred orders in order to be outside the reach of the civil code. Clerks who were murderers, thieves, and robbers were common. This state of things Henry was determined to abolish. He had also other projects for the humiliation of the Church. To carry out these reforms he must have some one in the archbishopric who would thoroughly sympathize with his aims, and with energy enough to carry them out. Who better than his great chancellor? In vain Thomas tried to beg off. In vain he warned his king that their friendship would cease if he became the head of the English

¹ There is no authority for writing the name, Thomas^a Becket, and only once in his life was he called Thomas Becket, and then by one of his murderers as an insult. Hereditary surnames had not then come into common use. He was called by his contemporaries Thomas, Thomas of London, Thomas of Canterbury, or with the designation of his office. See Freeman, *Essays*, First Series, p. 82.

Church. Through Henry's influence the monks of Christ Church and the suffragan bishops and clergy of Canterbury elected him archbishop 1162. Hitherto he had been only a deacon, but now he was ordained a priest, and the next day he was consecrated.

"No man can serve two masters," said Thomas Becket. The remarkable change which came over this man is not due to any inconsistency of character, as Freeman has well pointed out, but rather to the underlying habit of his life. Formerly he served his master the king with all his heart, now he must serve the Church with all his heart.

"O my good lord Leicester,
The king and I were brothers. All I had
I lavished for the glory of the king;
I shone for him, for him, his glory, his
Reflection; now the glory of the Church
Hath swallowed up the glory of the king;
I am his no more, but hers."¹

"The king has wrought a miracle," said Gilbert Foliot, Bishop of London; "he has turned a soldier and a layman into an archbishop." But it was no great miracle. Theobald's archdeacon, who had studied ecclesiastical law under the great canonist Gratian at Bologna, when once intrusted with the highest office in the English Church, could easily throw himself with passionate ardor into the work of making the Church a power in the land.

THOMAS BECKET AS ARCHBISHOP.

Formerly his life, though worldly and luxurious, had been stainless—no small thing to say of the members of the court in those days. Now it became fiercely ascetic. Without the poise, inner harmony, and sanctification of nature of Anselm, he became as zealously in earnest to realize the monastic ideal of ministerial character. As Milman says, he tried to crowd a whole lifetime of monkhood into a few years, as though to make up for his past remissness. Under his clerical dress he wore a monk's frock,

¹ Tennyson, *Becket* (1844). This poem is founded on a study of the sources, and has admirably caught the spirit of Becket. Newell Woolsey Wells compares Tennyson's and Ep.'s conceptions of Thomas, giving the palm of just and sympathetic representation to the poet. See *Andover Rev.* iv, 112, 77. Aubrey de Vere has also made Thomas the subject of a poem, *St. Thomas of Canterbury: a Dramatic Poem*, 1876, which contains many spirited and beautiful lines. De Vere is more of a hero worshiper than Tennyson.

² Ep., Ed. Dr. Giles, i, 265. Lingard (*Hist. of England*, 6th ed., Note 3 in App., vol. ii, p. 309) is inclined to regard the letter in which these words occur as spurious, after Berington, *Hist. of Henry II*, Appendix ii. But Milman has well replied to this, *Latin Christianity*, iv, 323, 324, note. Milman is very full on Becket, but should be read in connection with Freeman.

II. Churches of the king's fee shall not be given in perpetuity without his consent and license.

III. Clerks accused of any crime shall be summoned by the king's justice into the king's court to answer for whatever the king's court shall determine they ought to answer there, and in the ecclesiastical court for whatever shall be determined they ought to answer there; yet so that the king's justice shall send into the court of the holy Church to see in what way the matter shall there be handled; and if the clerk shall confess or be convicted, the Church for the future shall not protect him.

IV. No archbishop, bishop, or other exalted person, shall leave the kingdom without the king's license; and if they wish to leave it the king shall be empowered, if he please, to take security from them that they will do no harm to the king or kingdom, either in going, remaining, or returning.

VIII. No appeals can be carried beyond the archbishop's court without the consent of the king—directed against appeals to the pope.

XII. All vacant Church offices belong to the king. When the time comes to appoint a successor it shall be done in the king's chapel, with his consent and advice.

XVI. The sons of rustics shall not be ordained without the consent of their lord, in whose land they are known to have been born—a miserable provision, striking away the last opportunity of education and promotion of the children of the poor. It was an invasion of popular liberty thoroughly congenial to the temper of the Norman and Angevin kings of England.

To these sweeping Constitutions every prelate and noble in the kingdom consented with hand and seal. Under enormous pressure, and perhaps with the understanding that the king required only a nominal consent, Thomas at first signed, and then immediately recalled his signature, and utterly refused to attach his seal to the document. Henry then summoned him to his castle at Northampton to give an account of all the money which he had received as chancellor—money which he had spent in the king's service. This came in a succession of other demands, all intended to humiliate the archbishop and the Church. "Would you were no longer archbishop," said Bishop Hilary of Chichester, "but plain Thomas. Thou knowest the king better than we do; he has declared that thou and he cannot remain together in England. Who will be bound for such an amount [as that for which Becket was called to give an account]? Throw thyself on the king's mercy, or to the eternal disgrace of the Church thou wilt be arrested and impris-

oned as a debtor to the crown." At this council the bishops and nobles sided with the king, as they did in the case of Anselm. Thomas alleged that the justiciar had given him full acquittance for all the moneys of the chancellorship; that it was unlawful for the bishops to thus judge and condemn their archbishop in a lay court; and he ended by this solemn appeal: "My person and my Church I place under the protection of the sovereign pontiff."¹ When the Earl of Leicester arose to pronounce the king's sentence upon him Becket interrupted him. "Thy sentence! son and earl, hear me first. The king was pleased to promote me against my will to the archbishopric of Canterbury. I was then declared free from all secular obligations. Ye are my children. Presume ye against law and reason to sit in judgment on your spiritual father? I am to be judged only, under God, by the pope. To him I appeal. Before him I cite you, barons and suffragans, to appear. Under the protection of the Catholic Church and the apostolic see I depart." He arose and walked down the hall. Some one uttered the word "Traitor." "Were it not for my order you would rue that word," said Thomas, in great anger.

The archbishop made his way to the coast and fled to France. In his rage Henry banished four hundred of the archbishop's kinsmen and friends, innocent folk who had taken no part in the quarrel.² Thomas laid his case before Alexander III, who was at the time an exile in France, for then, as in Anselm's time, the emperor was keeping an antipope on the throne. Alexander sympathized with Becket, but advised patience, because the pope did not want to break with Henry. Henry also appealed to the pope, and for six years the struggle continued. Alexander's vacillating course did not satisfy Becket, and he wrote: "In the Roman court Barabbas escapes and Christ is put to death."

THOMAS'S
FLIGHT TO
FRANCE.

"This almoner hath tasted Henry's gold,
The cardinals have fingered Henry's gold,
And Rome is venal even to rottenness."

¹ For an account of the dramatic scenes of this trial see the biographers of Becket, and Milman, iv, 343-352.

² The king's wrath was uncontrollable. He was subjected to those "paroxysms of fury to which all the earlier Plantagenet princes were subject, and which were believed by themselves to arise from a mixture of demoniacal blood in their race." See the Murder of Becket, in the Quarterly Review, Sept., 1853. A writer describes him, "thwarted in his humor, grooving like a maniac on the rack, gnawing the wisps of straw, or gnashing his teeth, and growling like a wild beast, with those frightful blood-spotted orbs glaring with hatred and ferocity." The Reunion Magazine, Lond., i (1879), 229.

The ill health of Henry and the necessity of providing for his successor brought about a kind of reconciliation. The mode of succession of the English kings was not then settled, and Henry caught at the French idea of having his son crowned in his own lifetime. The Church must therefore be conciliated, because the king was anointed by her representative. Henry obtained from the pope a commission to the Archbishop of York and the Bishops of London and Salisbury to perform the ceremony on his son.¹ When Becket heard this he represented to the pope that it had always been the uncontested right of the Archbishop of Canterbury to crown the kings of England. Alexander then issued a letter of inhibition to the Archbishop of York. This letter was either disregarded or was not received in time, and the young prince was crowned.² With an interdict hanging over his head Henry consented to a reconciliation with Becket. The conference took place at Fretteville, between Chartres and Tours. Henry promised that Thomas could crown his son again, and also his son's queen. The king seems to have made a general and complete submission, but only in general terms. The Constitutions of Clarendon were not mentioned, and no definite promises seem to have been made.

On December 1, 1170, Thomas landed at Sandwich, and rode to Canterbury amid universal shouts and rejoicing. He came in his hour of triumph, not to forgive and forget, RETURN OF
THOMAS. but to reassert all his rights with vigor, and to thunder the papal excommunications against the bishops concerned in the late coronation. Yet he came with chastened heart, because, as he said, his end was near. His first text in his cathedral was, "Here we have no abiding city." On Christmas Day he preached, not in love, but in hatred, and repeated his excommunications against the knights who had robbed and insulted him. Then he spoke of the martyrdom of St. Alphege, and added, "There may soon be a second."

¹ Lingard thinks this letter a forgery, ii, 77, note 4. This is hardly likely. Alexander was full of duplicity.

² J. A. Froude, *Life and Times of Thomas Becket*, in *Short Studies*, iv, 79, says that the letter of inhibition was purposely withheld by Becket, for which there is no proof, and which is improbable in itself. The letter was given to the Bishop of Worcester. Gardiner, *Student's Hist. of England*, p. 149, says that the day before the coronation the Archbishop of York had received notice of the excommunication of all taking part in the ceremony. Hunt, *The Church of England in the Middle Ages*, p. 129, says that Henry himself prevented the prohibition from being brought into England. Milman, iv, 401, thinks that the king himself suppressed the letter, and that, in any event, no one would have dared to produce such a letter in England, as it would have been considered a misdemeanor or treason.

Since he would not withdraw the papal censures the offended prelates appealed to the king. Then in one of his fierce outbursts of madness the king exclaimed, "Are there no cowards who eat my bread who will rid me of this low-born and turbulent priest?" Among the fierce warriors of that fierce age such a challenge could not pass unheeded.

Reginald Fitz-Urse, William de Tracy, Hugh de Moreville, and Reginald Brito departed by separate ways to meet at Canterbury. Fitz-Urse upbraided Thomas with disloyalty in opposing the coronation of the king's son, and commanded him to absolve the prelates. "On the contrary," said Thomas, "I would have gladly given him three crowns and a kingdom. As for the bishops, they had been suspended by the pope, by whom alone they could be absolved. Besides, they had given no satisfaction." Becket's enemy said: "It is the king's command that you and the rest of your disloyal followers leave the kingdom." "It becomes not the king," said Becket, "to utter such command; henceforth no power on earth shall separate me from my flock." "You have presumed to excommunicate the king's servants and officers, without consulting the king," was said in reply. "Nor will I ever spare the man who violates the canons of Rome or the rights of the Church," added Becket. "From whom do you hold your archbishopric?" demanded Fitz-Urse. "My spirituals from God and the pope, my temporals from the king." "Do you not hold all from the king?" "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's." "You speak in peril of your life." "Come ye to murder me?" answered the haughty prelate, invincible in the consciousness of his own rectitude, and who had never known fear; "I defy you, and will meet you front to front in the battle of the Lord." Then the knights gnashed their teeth with rage and rushed out for their arms.¹

The knights met Becket at the vesper service in the cathedral. As the servitors heard the din of arms in the corridors they closed the doors. "Open the doors," said Thomas; "no one must be debarred from the house of God, for this is not a castle." They rushed in. With the exception of two or three friends the worshippers fled in terror. "Where is Thomas, the traitor?" shouted

¹ The best accounts of the closing scenes of this tragic story are found in Milman, *Lat. Chris.*, iv, 412, ff.; Stanley, *Memorials of Canterbury*; Lee, *Historical Sketches of the Reformation*, Lond., 1878, pp. 134, ff.; Froude, *Short Studies*, iv, 104, ff., who is partial to the murderers, and says that Thomas "forced destruction on himself" (p. 106); Adams, *Becket, in Great English Churchmen*, pp. 146-159, whose whole account is full and fair.

one of the knights. To such an inquiry there could be no reply. "Where is the archbishop?" demanded Fitz-Urse. "Here I am, Reginald; no traitor, but your archbishop and a priest of God. What ask you?" "Absolve those bishops whom you have excommunicated," shouted the knight. "I can and will do no other than I have done," said Thomas. "You shall die, traitor! Fly at once! fly, for you are a dead man!" "I am ready to die for God and his Church, if God wills it; but I warn you in God's name to let my men escape." Then they tried to drag him from the sacred precincts, not willing to add sacrilege to murder. This angered him, and in his great strength he shook them off like dogs, and called Fitz-Urse by a foul name. Then they shouted, "Strike, strike!" The archbishop recovered his self-possession, and prepared to receive the blows. "We commend our cause to God, to St. Denys, and St. Alphege," he said, as the blood was pouring down his cheeks. He bent his neck to the smiters, saying, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit." A third blow from Tracy brought him to his knees. "I die for the name of Jesus and in defense of his Church," he said as he fell at length upon the altar steps.

One of the most exact representations of the martyrdom occurs in an illuminated Psalter in the British Museum.¹ There was also an old fresco on the wall of Brereton Church in County Chester.² There is a representation in a beautiful manuscript in the library of Marischal College, Aberdeen, belonging to the early part of the fifteenth century. The panel at the head of King Henry IV's tomb at Canterbury contains a picture of this scene.³ Some relics of Thomas can be seen in St. George's Cathedral in London.

James Anthony Froude held that Becket died as an ecclesiastical tyrant, and that he deserved his fate. He represents the struggle between Thomas and Henry as the eternal battle between Church absolutism and freedom. But how then can be explained the boundless popularity of Thomas among the English yeomanry and common people, who looked upon him as representing popular rights against kingly tyranny? As to the merits of the quarrel between him and Henry, the right was with neither. Henry would have had the Church the slave of the State, and would have crushed all self-government and free development. Thomas stood for a great Christian principle in resisting him. "Do you not owe all to the king?" He died because he would not say, Yes, to that, and he died for a great truth. Gardiner says: "In placing him

¹ Harl. MS., No. 1502.

² *Archæologia*, ix.

³ See Lee, *Hist. Sketches of the Reformation*, pp. 140, 408, 409.

in the archbishopric in order that he might betray to the crown the liberties of the Church, the king had asked him to perform an act of treason as contemptible as that of the man who accepts the command of a fortress in order to betray it to the enemy."¹ The Church represented laws to which even a king must bend, and the people knew that the force which would override that principle would, as in the case of King John, override all popular rights as well. Therefore Freeman justly says that, judging Thomas by the light and needs of the twelfth century, he is "fairly entitled to a place among the worthies of whom England is proud."² On the other hand, Becket was wrong in insisting on withdrawing the clergy from the civil courts in the case of heinous crimes. The Constitutions of Clarendon have long since been incorporated, for the most part, into the common law of England. If they had been balanced by those checks to the kingly power which were wrung from reluctant sovereigns only after dreary centuries of strife, the most of the Clarendon Provisions would have been salutary enough. But here the absolute Church met the absolute king. The Church was, in theory at least, bound to the law of Christ, but this king considered himself bound by no law, human or divine. The time would come when both ecclesiastical and political tyrannies would pass away. But Thomas of Canterbury is not to be blamed if, according to his best light, he resisted unto death a brute force which trampled on laws which all the nobler spirits of the time held sacred and divine.

¹ Introd. to Study of English History, p. 60.

² Hist. Essays, First Series, p. 115.

LITERATURE: THE BEGINNINGS OF CHRISTIANITY IN SCOTLAND.

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CHAPTER XXIII.

PLANTING OF CHRISTIANITY IN SCOTLAND.

THE story of Donald, King of the Scots, making an application to Pope Victor I for the evangelization of Scotland, is a fiction.¹ Through intercourse with the South, no doubt, there were individual Christians in Scotland. But the first historic name connected with the conversion of North Britain is St. Ninian. Unfortunately for us, his earliest biographer, Ælred, ST. NINIAN. abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Rievaulx, in Yorkshire, belongs to the twelfth century. The earliest mention is in these general words of Bede: "For the southern Picts who dwelt on this side of those mountains had long before, as they relate, forsaken the errors of idolatry and embraced the true faith at the preaching of Ninian, a most reverend bishop and holy man of the nation of the Britons, who at Rome had been regularly instructed in the faith and mysteries of the truth."²

Ninian, if we follow Ælred, was the son of a Pietish chieftain of Galloway, born about 360. He went to Rome under the bishopric of Damasus (366-384), and was thoroughly instructed in Christianity. "A worthy reward," says Ælred, "that he who for love of truth had sacrificed country, riches, and pleasure should be led into the very sanctuary of truth and receive for carnal goods, spiritual; for earthly, heavenly; for temporal, eternal."³ He then returned to Scotland, visiting St. Martin of Tours on the way, by whom he was more thoroughly imbued with the glory of the monastic ideal. His field was Strathclyde, in the southwest of Scotland, from the Clyde to the Solway Firth, or even to the Mersey. He brought masons from the abbey of Marmoutier, in France, to erect the first stone church in Scotland. On account of the white stones it was called *Candida Casa*, Withern or White-house. This was about 402. Ælred describes it as situated on a promontory surrounded on three sides by the sea, and connected with the mainland only on the north. "This description," writes a Scotch antiquarian, "may apply to the Isle of Whithorn, where the ruins of a chapel of unknown date are still to be seen, but may equally

¹ See Innes, *Civil and Eccles. Hist. of Scotland*, p. 14.

² Bede, *H. E.*, iii, 4.

³ *Vita S. Nin.*, c. ii.

apply to the entire peninsula of Wigtown; and the Candida Casa of St. Ninian would be the town of Whithorn, some miles inland, where the cathedral of Galloway, beautiful in its ruins, still recalls the memory of Scotland's first apostle."¹ Ninian converted many of the southern Picts, appointed other missionaries, and erected at Candida Casa the great monastery which became in time a celebrated school for the training of missionaries. Ninian died about 432. In an old Irish Life of St. Ninian he is said to have visited Ireland in the latter part of his life, and founded a church in Leinster.² No less than sixty-three Scottish churches were dedicated to him.³

Some of the early annals are full of the exploits of St. Paladius, and he is even called the Apostle of Scotland, but a careful sifting by Skene, in which he is followed by Bellesheim, has made it very doubtful whether he ever set foot on Scotland.⁴ In fact we are peculiarly unfortunate in regard to early Scottish records, due partly to the radical reaction of the Reformation. "The registers of the churches and bibliothecs or libraries," says Thomas Innes,

EARLY RECORDS DESTROYED.

"were cast into the fire, and these were so entirely destroyed that if in Scotland there had happened a debate about the consecrations or ordinations of bishops and priests, either before or about the time of the Reformation, I do not believe that of all our ancient bishops and priests, ordained within the country, there could have been found the register or act of consecration of any one of them, so careful were our first reformers to sweep clean away all that could renew the memory of the religion in which they had been baptized. At St. Andrews, the metropolitan church, besides the archives where were all the records and rights of the kings, all ecclesiastical acts, such as those of national councils, of diocesan synods, of processes of ecclesiastical courts, . . . consecration of bishops, all ordinations, dispensations, etc., were preserved. Since the time of the Reformation all these original records have no less entirely and universally disappeared (excepting some of the chartularies) than if they had never been."⁵

By the middle of the sixth century a large part of southern

¹ Campbell, *The Early Scottish Church*, in *Dublin Rev.*, 1879, p. 260.

² An extract from this life is given in Usher, *Brit. Ecc. Ant.*, and an abstract of it in Bollandus, *Acta Sanct.*, Sep. 16.

³ Forbes, *Life of St. Ninian*, in *Historians of Scotland*, pp. xiii-xvii; Bellesheim, *Hist. of Cath. Church in Scotland*, i, 4-12.

⁴ *Celtic Scotland*, ii, 26-32; Bellesheim, i, 20-26.

⁵ *Critical Essays*, ed. Grub, p. 312. See also Spettiswood, i, 372; Bellesheim, i, 30.

Scotland was evangelized. But an apostasy had taken place, and a revival of paganism ensued. It needed a stronger WORK OF IRISH MONKS. arm than that of the ordinary clergy, and a more compact and vigorous organization. That was given in the monastic Church of Ireland, to which we are indebted for the second Christianization of Scotland. North Britain was inhabited by two peoples, the Scotch, who had come over from Ireland, Christian, in part at least, and the Picts, who were pagan. Brendan of Clonfert was the first missionary. With fourteen of his monks he sailed from Ireland in search of the land of promise of the saints, and spent seven years in the search before he returned home. This became one of the most popular tales of the Middle Ages, and his long wanderings have been associated with the pre-Columbian voyages to America. There is no truth in these legends. What is true is that Brendan sailed to the Western Isles, that is, the islands northeast of Ireland and west of Scotland, and founded

monasteries. BRENDAN. In the ancient Acts of St. Brendan he is said to have founded a church in the land of Meth, that is, in the island of Tyree, in Argyleshire, nineteen miles northwest of Iona. He must also have labored in Bute, as the people of that island are called Brandanes, and his name comes down to us in Kilbrandan Sound, between Arran and Kintyre. Other places of the Western Isles also bear reminiscences of the holy adventurer. He died in 545.¹

But the chief apostle of that Irish evangelism was St. Columba. Fortunately, his two biographers succeeded him so soon in the abbacy of Iona, one Cummene, after sixty years, the other Adamnan, after eighty-two years, that we have a fairly reliable account of his life.² Columba was born at Gartan, Donegal, Ireland, about 521. He was educated at the Irish schools of Moville, Clonard, and Glasnevin. He later founded the monasteries of Derry and

¹ Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, ii, 78.

² For the literature of St. Columba, see above, p. 617. The old Irish Life (10th century) is not so reliable; nor is the elaborate Life by Maunsell O'Donnell, Chief of Tyreconnell, compiled in 1522. A full account of these Lives is given in pref. to Reeves's ed. of Adamnan, Edinb., 1874. This preface is in 184 pages. A later ed. of Adamnan is by Fowler, with Introd., Clarendon Press, Oxf., 1895; a useful ed., based on Reeves, see the *Nation*, N. Y., Aug. 18, 1895, p. 301. A transl. of Adamnan's Life is also published. *Prophecies, miracles, and visions of St. Columba*. Lond. and N. Y., 1895. Shairp has a good treatment in *Sketches in Hist. and Poetry*, Edinb., 1887. The old Irish Life is given in full in an appendix in Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, ii, 467-507, translated by the eminent Irish scholar, the late W. Maunsell Hennessey.

Darrow. The common account of the cause of his crossing into Caledonia is the improbable story that he incited a war between two tribes, and for this was banished, with the command that he win for Christ as many souls as were lost in the battle. Another alleged reason of the departure of Columba for Scotland is the dispute between him and Finnian over a copy of the Psalter, which Columba had transcribed without permission of the latter. King Diarmaid decided against Columba, on the principle that, inasmuch as to every cow belongs her calf, so to every monastery belong all copies made from its books. This legend is entirely spurious, as Finnian and Columba were on the best of terms all their lives.¹ On the contrary, Adamnan recognizes only Columba's boundless love of Christ as the reason for his Scottish trip, and the old Irish Life tells us that the "illustrious saint left his home for the love and favor of Christ," and that "this was the resolution which he had determined on from the beginning of his life."² A contemporary draws his picture thus: "A perfect sage, believing in Christ, learned and chaste and charitable; he was noble, he was gentle, the physician of the heart of every sage, a shelter to the naked, a consolation to the poor: there went not from the world one who was more constant in the remembrance of the cross."³

In 563 Columba set sail for Scotland with twelve companions.⁴ Among these was the son of an Ulster chieftain. In vain Columba tried to persuade him to return to his native land. "Thou art my father," replied the enthusiastic missionary, "the Church is my mother, and my country is wherever I can win souls for Christ."⁵ They settled at Iona, a little island of the Hebrides, near the large island of Mull, in Argyleshire.⁶ There he raised that monastery which shed immortal light on Scotland and England—"that

¹ These stories rest on the *Life of Columba* by Manus O'Donnell, 1532.

² Bede confirms this. *H. E.*, iii, 6.

³ Dallan Forghaill, *Amra*.

⁴ Twelve was a sacred number with the Irish. Bellesheim notes: 1. Missions undertaken by a leader and twelve companions. 2. Monasteries occupied by a superior and twelve monks. 3. The episcopate of a country consisted of twelve bishops and a metropolitan (Bede, *H. E.*, i, 29). 4. Ecclesiastical colleges, containing twelve capitulars, including prelates. 5. Celebrated teachers, such as Finnian and Aidan, instructing twelve disciples. 6. The consecration of bishops was performed in the presence of twelve bishops (Bede, v, 19). 7. Caravans of pilgrims consisting of twelve members. Vol. i, 62, 63, note.

⁵ See Moran, *Irish Saints in Great Britain*. Dublin, 1879, p. 61.

⁶ A full description is in Skene, ii, 88-91. See the Duke of Argyll's *Iona*, 1871, new ed., 1889. The ancient name of Iona is I, or Hy, or H, "the island," called also Icolmkill, or Hi-Colum-Kille, "the island of Columba of the Church."

illustrious island," says Dr. Johnson, "whence savage clans and roving barbarians derived the benefits of knowledge and the blessings of religion." "Far from me and from my friend," he continues, "be such frigid philosophy as may conduct us indifferent and unmoved over any ground which has been dignified by wisdom, bravery, or virtue. That man is little to be envied whose patriotism would not gain force upon the plain of Marathon, or whose piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of Iona."¹ From this center Columba and his monks went out far and near through the Pictish and Scottish tribes. The Picts were rude and barbarous fetich worshippers. The legend is that, when Columba and two of his missionaries visited Brude, one of their kings, at Inverness, the king drew his sword to kill them: but when one of the missionaries made the sign of the cross the king's hand was suddenly withered, and so remained until the day on which he received baptism at the hands of St. Columba.² Once when the saint was chanting vespers not far from the royal residence the Pictish priests endeavored to interrupt his devotions. Then, in that marvelously clear and resonant voice which could be heard for miles, Columba began to sing the forty-fourth psalm, "Eruetavit cor meum verbum bonum." His voice rang like thunder in their ears, and they fled in terror from the spot.³ Through the missionary labors of the Iona monks a large part of Scotland became Christian before St. Augustine started on his English mission.

Columba was a many-sided man. A man of royal blood, a great leader, impetuous, impatient of contradiction, and vindictive, as were all the Irish saints, he yet was a man of simple faith and unsurpassed devotion to Christ. A poet himself, he defended the poets at the synod of Drumcatt, and established the rights of the bardic order. He had a passionate love of natural scenery. As from his beloved Iona he looked over the sea to Erin, which was just as dear, he gave utterance to his longings:

"Delightful would it be to me to be in *Uchd Allion*
On the pinnacle of a rock,
That I might often see
The face of the ocean;

¹ A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland, 1775, in Works, ed. of 1825, ii, 681, and Works, Minno's ed., 1831, pp. 602, 603. Johnson visited Iona in 1773. Boswell was specially anxious to visit the holy island. This is one of the most interesting of Johnson's works, written with more vivacity than was common with him. His best accommodation at night at Iona was a haymow.

² Skene, *Chronicles of Picts and Scots*, Edinb., 1861, p. 67.

³ Bellesheim, i, 68.

That I might see its heaving waves
 Over the wide ocean,
 When they chant their music to their Father
 Upon the world's course ;
 That I might see its level sparkling strand,
 It would be no cause of sorrow ;
 That I might hear the song of the wonderful birds,
 Source of happiness ;
 That I might hear the thunder of the crowding waves
 Upon the rocks ;
 That I might hear the roar by the side of the church
 Of the surrounding sea ;
 That I might see its noble flocks
 Over the watery ocean ;
 That I might see the sea monsters,
 The greatest of all wonders ;
 That I might see its ebb and flood
 In their career ;
 That my mystical name might be, I say,
 Cul vi Erin (Back turned to Ireland) ;
 That contrition might come upon my heart
 Upon looking at her ;
 That I might bewail my evils all,
 Tho' it were difficult to compute them ;
 That I might bless the Lord
 Who conserves all,
 Heaven with its countless bright orders,
 Land, strand, and flood ;
 That I might search the books all,
 That would be good for any soul ;
 At times kneeling to beloved heaven ;
 At times at psalm-singing ;
 At times contemplating the King of heaven,
 Holy the chief ;
 At times at work without compulsion ;
 This would be delightful.
 At times plucking *duilise* from the rocks ;
 At times at fishing ;
 At times giving food to the poor ;
 At times in a *carcair* (solitary cell).
 The best advice in the presence of God
 To me has been vouchsafed.
 The King, whose servant I am, will not let
 Anything deceive me." ¹

¹ "The original of this interesting poem is in one of the Irish MSS. in the Burgundian Library at Brussels. It was transcribed and translated for the late Dr. Todd by Professor O'Curry, and was kindly given to the author by Reeves, Bishop of Down and Connor, then Dean of Armagh, in 1866."—Skene, *Chronicles* ii, 91-93. The descriptions of nature remind one of Homer in their force and simple grandeur. An abecedarian hymn on the spiritual history

Columba was passionately fond of illuminated manuscripts, and we see how legend has connected this passion with his alleged banishment from Ireland. This celebrated manuscript had an experience something like that of the Jewish ark. It was inclosed in a kind of shrine, and was venerated as a palladium in the clan O'Donnell, to which Columba belonged, who for more than a thousand years carried it into their battles as a sure pledge of victory. Within recent years this precious relic was placed in the museum of the Royal Irish Academy.¹

Columba founded numerous churches and monasteries in Scotland. Reeves gives a list of thirty-two churches either established by Columba among the Scots or dedicated to him, and nineteen among the Picts.² He had the true Irishman's love of his native land, and frequently visited it, where he was always received with honor.³

After over thirty years of missionary life in Scotland the veteran missionary felt that his end was approaching. In May, 597, he was carried over the western part of Iona. Gathering the brethren around him he said, "During the paschal solemnities in the month of April now past, with desire have I desired to depart to Christ the Lord, as he had allowed me, if I had preferred it. But lest a joyous festival should be turned for you into mourning I thought it better to put off for a little longer time my departure from the world." So he blessed the island and was carried back to his monastery. On the following Saturday the saint, leaning on his faithful Diarmaid, went out to bless the granary. "This day in the Holy Scriptures is called the Sabbath, which means rest.⁴ And this day is indeed a Sabbath to me, for it is the

of our world, *Altus prositor vetustus dierum, et ingenuus*, which is furnished in the appendix to the *Lyra Sacra Hibernica*, Bell, 1879, and in the 3d part of Todd, *Liber Hymnorum*, is by these authorities and by Duffield, *Latin Hymn Writers and their Hymns*, N. Y., 1889, p. 357, ascribed to Columba, but in the *Presb. Rev.*, 1881, p. 310, this last writer claims to have proved that the hymn was really written by Rabanus Maurus (died 856), Bishop of Mayence. The Marquess of Bute published an edition of this hymn, "The Altus of St. Columba," with an English transl.; in 1882.

¹ Reeves, *Adamnan*, p. xxxvii. Sir William Betham took drawings of this case. It is a brass box 9½ in. by 8, 2 in. deep, the top being a silver plate riveted to one of brass. Betham, *Irish Antiq. Research*, 1827, i, 109. See Hole in Smith and Wace, i, 604. It is doubtful whether the MS. can be as old as the time of Columba.

² List of Adamnan, pp. ix, *De Bellesheim*, i, 79, 81.

³ For his reception in one of his visits, see Adamnan, *Vita S. Columba*, i, 3; *Bellesheim*, i, 83, 84.

⁴ The monastic Church of Ireland, like the Jewish early Church, kept Saturday as a day of rest, with special religious services on Sunday. This was one of the customs opposed by St. Margaret. See note in *Bellesheim*, i, 86.

last day of my life of toil, and in it I rest after the fatigues of my labors. And this night at midnight, which commenceth the solemn Lord's day, I shall go the way of our fathers. For already my Lord Jesus Christ deigneth to invite me, and to him, I say, in the middle of this night shall I depart at his invitation." Then he returned to his cell and continued his work in transcribing the Psalter on which he had long been engaged. After he had written the words of the thirty-third psalm, "They who seek the Lord shall want nothing that is good," he stopped, and said, "Here I must end. What follows let Baithene write." At midnight, at the sound of the bell for prayers, he was the first to enter the church. He prostrated himself before the altar, and in prayer, with a smile on his face, he breathed his soul away, on June 9, 597.

Adamnan thus describes Columba's character: "From his boy-
ESTIMATES OF COLUMBA. hood he had been brought up in Christian training in the study of wisdom, and by the grace of God had so preserved the integrity of his body and the purity of his soul that, though dwelling on earth, he appeared to live like the saints in heaven. For he was angelic in appearance, graceful in speech, holy in work, with talents of the highest order, and consummate prudence. He lived a soldier of Christ during thirty-four years on an island. He never could spend the space even of one hour without study, or prayer, or writing, or some other holy occupation. So incessantly was he engaged night and day in the unwearying exercise of fasting and watching that the burden of each of these austerities would seem beyond the power of all human endurance. And still, in all these, he was beloved of all; for a holy joy ever beaming on his face revealed the joy and gladness with which the Holy Spirit filled his inmost soul." Montalembert, following O'Donnell's later biography, draws a different picture: "He was vindictive, passionate, bold, a man of strife, born a soldier rather than a monk, and known, praised, and blamed as a soldier, *insulanus miles*, even upon the island rock from which he rushed forth to preach, convert, enlighten, reconcile, and reprimand both princes and nations, men and women, laymen and clerks. He was at the same time full of contradictions and contrasts—at once tender and irritable, rude and courteous, ironical and compassionate, caressing and imperious, grateful and revengeful—led by pity as well as by worth, ever moved by generous passions, and among all passions fired to the very end of his life by two which his countrymen understand the best, the love of poetry and the love of country. Little inclined to melancholy when he had once surmounted the great

¹ Adamnan, *Tract. Secunda*; Bellesheim, i, 89.

sorrow of his life, which was his exile ; little disposed, save toward the end, to contemplation or solitude, but trained by prayer and austerities to triumphs of evangelical exposition ; despising rest, untiring in mental and manual toil ; born for eloquence, and gifted with a voice so penetrating and sonorous that it was thought of afterward as one of the most miraculous gifts he had received of God ; frank and loyal, original and powerful in his words as in his actions—in cloister and mission and parliament, on land and on sea, in Ireland and in Scotland, always swayed by the love of God, and of his neighbor, whom it was his will and pleasure to serve with an impassioned uprightness. Such was Columba.”¹ Reeves, the learned editor of Adamnan, is inclined to agree with this emphasis on the dark side of Columba. He says that the primitive Irish ecclesiastics, and especially the class known as saints, were impatient of contradiction and resentful. Excommunication, fasting against, and cursing were in frequent employment, and inanimate as well as animate objects were the subjects of their maledictions.² But Skene says that these contrasted characteristics are largely imaginary, and the darker features disappear on a critical examination. The original sources of his life do not lend sanction to the shadows in Montalembert’s picture. Dallan Forgaill, in the ancient tract called the *Amra Columicilla*, speaks in the same strain with Adamnan, both bearing testimony to a peculiarly lovable and Christlike character.³

¹ *Monks of the West*, iii, 269. Montalembert gives a long and eloquent account of Columba.

² *Ed. of Adamnan*, p. xxxix. See Gamnack in *Smith and Wace*, i, 604.

³ Skene, ii, 145, 146, where a quotation from Forgaill is given.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE FIRST CHURCH SYSTEM OF SCOTLAND.

WHAT then was the character of that Church system which the Irish missionaries introduced into Scotland? It was not Episcopal, nor Presbyterian, but monastic. Its like has never been known before nor since. Bede describes it thus: "Moreover, the island itself is wont to have always an abbot, who is a presbyter, for its ruler, to whose jurisdiction all the province and the bishops also themselves, after an unusual order, are bound to be subject, according to the example of their famous first teacher, who was not a bishop, but a presbyter and a monk."¹ The whole authority centered in the abbot of the monastery, who might be a layman, or even, as some say, a woman. The monasteries were really colleges, or mission stations. There the missionaries were educated, and thence they were sent out to their field of labor. Iona was the model of all the religious houses of Scotland. The bishops had hardly a place in such a system, as the clergy received their mission from the abbot. And yet it would be remarkable if the Celtic Church of the sixth century differed so radically from the Catholic Church that the bishops had no peculiar function as belonging to a higher order. Moffat indeed says that "presbyters could ordain presbyters, and a presbyter could also administer the eucharist without an assistant."² But there does not seem sufficient evidence for this. Skene, the most eminent authority on all matters relating to Celtic Scotland, who has gone into the original sources with great enthusiasm, says distinctly that the bishop existed as a separate order, whose authority was recognized for ordination but not for jurisdiction or government. The sacerdotal or canonical functions of the bishops were recognized according to the customs of the universal Church of that time. And yet Skene allows that in the Irish (Scotch) monastic Church the "episcopate was a personal and not an official dignity; and we find at a later period that inferior functionaries of the monastery, as the scribe and even the anchorite, appear to have united the functions of a bishop with their proper duties."³

¹ H. E., iii, 4.² The Church in Scotland, pp. 80, 93-95.³ Celtic Scotland, ii, 44. See pp. 42-44.

If this is the case it is evident that the Celtic Church had no idea of the *jure divino* theory of the episcopate. In fact, ^{SCOTTISH HIST.} so eminent authority as Professor Mitchell still holds that ^{OPS.} the facts alleged by certain later writers are not sufficient to show that there were from the first in the monasteries of Scotland, as there undoubtedly were in Ireland, persons bearing the names of bishops. And if there were Ebrard is of the opinion that they were, like the abbots and lectors, simply presbyters appointed to a special work. In fact, Bede says that the monks of Iona ordained and sent forth Aidan on his mission.¹ In any event the whole situation of the early Scottish Church is clearly inconsistent with the sacerdotal theory of the episcopate, namely, that he is by divine appointment distinct from the presbyter and superior to him.² The whole Church was monastic; that is, there were no secular clergy. Bede, the "most observant, as he is the most candid of historians," remarks thus: "All the presbyters, with the deacons, cantors, lectors, and the other ecclesiastical orders, along with the bishop himself, were subject in all things to the monastic rule."⁴ The bishop was simply the servant of the monastery, called in when needed. The monastic college owed nothing to papal, episcopal, or kingly authority, but held directly under Jesus Christ.

As to the liturgy of the Celtic Church, an able liturgiologist has shown that it differed but little from the other uses of ^{THE LITURGY.} the time.⁵ It had the altar services, called the eucharist a sacrifice, had an unusually large number of collects, gave the kiss of peace after the consecration, practiced prayers for the dead as a recognized custom,⁶ sang the communion hymn after the prayer of consecration, and had special priestly vestments and choral

¹ H. E., iii, 5, at end.

² Mitchell, *Celtic Church*, in Schaff-Herzog, *Encyc.*, ii, 1236, 1237. Blaikie, *Preachers of Scotland*, p. 34, and Walker, *Scottish Church History*, p. 10, ridicule the idea of Skene that the monastic colleges kept a bishop at hand, like a carpenter or a scullion, to perform ordinations for them. "Surely," says Blaikie, "if a bishop is anything he is a supreme ruler, and not a servant of presbyters." But such reasoning in the field of history is dangerous. Whether there were such bishops is purely a question of fact.

³ Skene, ii, 44.

⁴ Vita S. Guthberti, xvi.

⁵ *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, in *Church Quarterly Rev.*, April, 1880, p. 50, ff.

⁶ "Diptychs containing the names of the deceased were brought by the deacon to the celebrant, and their contents were announced by him during the offertory, after the first oblation of the unconsecrated elements, and before the canon. A special penance was assigned at Iona to the deacon who forgot this part of his duty," p. 59. This affords a presumption of the identity of the Gallican and Celtic liturgies.

services. The Celtic Church made a large use of music, singing, doubtless, Columba's own hymns. Harpers are represented on the most ancient sculptured stones of Ireland, and pipers are introduced in decorations of manuscripts of the eighth century. Organs were largely used. The Irish Church sang not the Gregorian or Roman chant, but the Eastern hymns and chants. Oblations of bread and wine and offerings of alms were received, unleavened bread was used, water was mingled with wine, according to the universal custom of the primitive Church, and the consecrated elements were reserved for the sick or absent, to whom they were conveyed. In fact, the early Celtic ritual differed in no material respect from the services of the present ritualistic party in the Church of England. It is one of the favorite claims of this party that in their peculiar ways they are not aping Rome, but are reviving the customs of the primitive British and Irish Church.¹

The theological teaching of the ancient Scotch Church was free from the corrupt elements of later times. The Holy
DOCTRINAL
TEACHING. Scriptures were the great books of the Celtic monks. Of their boundless devotion to the Scriptures we have proof in the fact that Columba with his own hand is said to have transcribed the gospels and the Psalms three hundred times. Columban, who went forth from the Celtic Church, left a volume of *Instructiones*, which are simple, fervent sermons, dwelling mainly on Christ, his love and his work.² Principally upon this work Ebrard founded his thesis that the Celtic Church was mainly evangelical in doctrine.³ Burton, the best historian of Scotland, who follows Ebrard in this conception of early Scotch teaching, thus summarizes Ebrard's reconstruction of Celtic doctrine: "It had a full right to be called an evangelical Church, not only because it was free from the power of Rome, and always showed a determination, whenever the Roman Catholic Church came in contact with it, to appeal from the authority of Rome to the Holy Scriptures as the only supreme authority; but above all because its inner life was penetrated and stimulated by the inner form and substance of the evangelical Church. . . . To the Cildes the Holy Scriptures were no text-book containing a list of lawful doctrines, but the living word of Christ. They taught with all sincerity the innate sinfulness of the natural man, the reconciling death of Christ, justification by faith without the aid of works; above all, the worthlessness of all outward works, and regeneration as life in Him who died for us. The sacraments

¹ Church Quar. Rev., x, 83, 84.

² Blaikie, *The Preachers of Scotland*, p. 21.

³ See Ebrard, *Iroschotische Missionkirche, Die Heilslehre*, pp. 99-134.

were to them signs and seals of the one grace through Christ, and as such held only a second place in their teachings. They denied the efficacy of saints, angels, and relics, and urged to a very pure and heavenly life."¹ On the other hand, Montalembert says that "auricular confession, the invocation of saints, the celebration of the mass, the real presence, the sacrament of fasting, prayers for the dead, the celibacy of the clergy, the sign of the cross, and, above all, the duty of the deep and diligent study of the Holy Scriptures, are all proved to have been enjoined by Columba."² The fact is that there is truth in either representation. The Celtic missionaries were great preachers, and the staple of their preaching was the essential doctrines of the cross. There is abundant evidence that over against the modern Roman corruptions they had a firm grasp of the simple elements of Scripture truth. On the other hand, in their thought, cultus, and in various practices they were very similar to the continental Church of that day.

The members of the community of Iona took the vow on banded knees, and were tonsured from ear to ear, that is, the fore part of the head was made bare. Those of ad-
CLASSES IN
COMMUNITY OF
IONA.

vanced years and tried devotedness were called seniors. Their chief duty was reading and copying the Scriptures and attending religious services. The younger and stronger were called the working brothers. They were agriculturists and cattle-raisers. A third class were the young, who were under instruction, and were called *alumni*, or pupils. The penitential discipline was severe. They fasted on Wednesday and Friday and during Lent. A strange asceticism was often practiced. It was the complete immersion of the body in water, and in that condition reciting the whole or part of the Psalter. When a monk desired to enter upon a special course of exercises he did so under the direction of a distinguished saint as his soul's friend, or director. Confession of offenses was made before the whole community. In one case, where the sin was very great, Columba imposed as a penance perpetual exile in tears and lamentations among the Britons.³

¹ Burton, *Hist. of Scotland*, i, 404, 405. See also Baikie, *Preachers of Scotland*, pp. 16-32.

² *Les Moines d'Occident*, iii, 300.

³ Skene, ii, 102, 103. In Skene and in Reeves, ed. of Adamnan, new ed., Edinb., 1874, will be found a full account of the Iona Constitution. Reeves's Introduction is a thorough and elaborate study of the Columban Church. Starbuck, *Did the Gaelic Church Revive Presbyterian Ordination?* in the *Methodist Rev.*, N. Y., May, 1897—a very able article.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE SCOTCH PERIOD BEFORE THE REFORMATION.

As Montalembert has said, Bede has made the character and life of Aidan "the subject of one of the most eloquent and attractive pictures ever drawn by the pen of the venerable historian."¹ Aidan went from Iona to convert the southern Scotch and northern English, in the place of a missionary previously sent out but who returned with the confession of failure on account of the stubborn and barbarous spirit of the English. "You did not," said Aidan, "after the apostolic precept, first offer them the milk of more gentle doctrine, till by degrees through the nourishment of God's word they might have strength to receive and practice God's more perfect and exalted counsel." That remark pointed him out as the proper person to undertake the work. He was consecrated bishop in 635, fixed his residence at Lindisfarne, afterward called Holy Island, a little island north of Northumberland, near Berwick-on-Tweed. Here Aidan fixed his see and built his monastery, and hence he and his monks went forth on their mission of love.

"In Saxon strength that abbey frowned,
With massive arches broad and round,
That rose alternate, row on row,
On ponderous columns, short and low,
Built ere the art was known,
By pointed aisle and shafted stalk
The arcades of our alleys walk
To emulate in stone.

On the deep wall the heathen Dane
Had poured his impious rage in vain;
And needful was such strength to these,
Exposed to the tempestuous seas,
Scourged by the winds' eternal sway,
Open to rovers fierce as they,
Which could twelve hundred years withstand
Wind, waves, and northern pirates' hand.
Not but the wasting sea breeze keen
Had worn the pillar's carving quaint,
And moldered in his niche the saint,

¹ Monks of the West, iv, 23. See Bede, iii, 5.

And rounded with consuming power
The pointed angles of each tower;
Yet still the entire abbey stood,
Like veteran, worn, but unsubdued."¹

It was the life as much as the preaching of Aidan which converted Northumbria.² "He left his clergy," says Bede, "most wholesome example of abstinence and continence, and the highest commendation of his teaching was that his own life corresponded with it."³ He always traveled on foot. His companions, whether monks or laymen, were obliged to meditate, that is, either to read the Scripture or learn the Psalter.⁴ Education was an important feature of his plan. Each church became also a school, where his Scottish monks gave a complete education to all who came. He redeemed many captives and trained large numbers of them for the priesthood. He had a helper after his own heart in Oswald, King of Northumbria, the Alfred of the North. Aidan's diocese extended from the Humber to the Firth of Forth, a region which he consecrated by his holy example and boundless benevolence. Bede qualifies his high praise in one particular: "His zeal for God was not altogether according to knowledge, for he was wont to keep Easter Day according to the custom of his country, from the fourteenth to the twentieth moon."⁵ He died in 651, and was buried in St. Peter's Church, Lindisfarne, beside the altar.⁶ Aidan's independence of Rome was characteristic of the Columban Church. It gave to Rome a respect due to an ancient and powerful see, but the Columban Church would not change any of its customs at Rome's dictation. As Bishop Lightfoot says, "Aidan is a 'true type and symbol of the freedom of the Church of England.'"

On the night that Aidan died, a shepherd boy, watching his flock on the Northumbrian hills north of the Tweed, believed that he saw a convoy of angels bearing to heaven a soul of surpassing brightness. The next day this boy learned that Bishop Aidan had died on

¹ Scott, *Marmion*, ii, x. Aidan's monastery was merged into the Benedictine priory church, built in 1093, using its materials in part. As Durham grew in importance the island cathedral was allowed to fall into ruins. The castle was not built until 1500, about a dozen years before the year in which the plot of Scott's most stirring and successful poem was laid. In August, 1887, three thousand barefooted pilgrims crossed the sound to Lindisfarne.

² Lappenberg, *Anglo-Saxon Kings*, i, 200 (now ed., Lond., 1880).

³ Bede, *H. E.*, iii, 5.

⁴ *Ibid.*, iii, 5.

⁵ *Ibid.*, iii, 5.

⁶ Bellesheim, *Hist. of Cath. Church in Scotland*, i, 116-121; Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, ii, 155-159; Deedes, in Smith and Wace, s. v.; Lightfoot, *Leaders in the Northern Church*, pp. 37-54. The mediæval biographers add nothing to the statements of Bede.

⁷ *Leaders of the Northern Church*, p. 52.

the previous night. He went to the monastery of Old Melrose, on the Tweed, founded by Aidan, and asked for admission.¹ **ST. CUTHBERT.** Thus began the missionary life of St. Cuthbert, one of the brightest lights of the northern Church. In 661 he was elected prior of the monastery. He went all over the country preaching, and reclaiming the people from the abject paganism into which many of them had fallen. In 664 he was made prior of Lindisfarne. He had adopted the Roman views on Easter, and after a long struggle he brought his monks to conform to the southern practice. He now ceased all missionary work and gave himself up to asceticism. In 676 he quitted the Holy Isle and built himself a hut on House Island, one of the Farne group,² a few miles south of Lindisfarne. He first reared a wall of turf and stone so high that he could see neither land nor sea. Within this he erected an oratory, in which he lived in utter solitude for nine years. In 684 he was called to the bishopric of Hexham. After the most earnest entreaties of the King of Northumbria and a large party who sailed to Farne, to induce him to accept, he left his retreat. Then his old friend Eata surrendered his own see to Cuthbert in exchange for Hexham; and thus for two years he became the active and earnest bishop of a familiar territory. He then retired to his rocky eyrie, where he died March 20, 687.³

St. Cuthbert was buried in Lindisfarne. Eleven years after the body was raised and, it was alleged, was found unwasted. **THE ASHES OF ST. CUTHBERT.** In 793-794 the Danes ravaged Lindisfarne, but the body was left untouched. In 875 there was another Danish inroad. The monks took with them the body of the saint, and for seven years they wandered here and there, seeking a resting place, but found no permanent rest for the bones until they were given Chester-le-Street, a city six miles from Durham, as the seat of the bishopric of Lindisfarne.⁴ In 990 another Danish invasion compelled the removal of

¹ This is not the celebrated Melrose Abbey, which was built two and a half miles farther west in 1136 by David I. The Old Melrose Abbey, founded about 635 by Aidan, was burned by Kenneth MacAlpine in 839, and finally abandoned.

² It was from one of these islands, Longstone, that Grace Darling and her father, in the early morning of the 7th of September, 1838, rowed their boat over a tempestuous sea for the rescue of the nine survivors of the wreck of the *Forfarshire*.

³ The shells on that coast are still called St. Cuthbert's shells, and the sea birds, which breed in multitudes on the islands, are called St. Cuthbert's birds. Blair, note in Bellesheim, i, 163.

⁴ On July 18, 1883, this church celebrated its millennium, when Bishop Lightfoot, of Durham, preached a sermon on St. Cuthbert, from the text, "A thousand years in thy sight are but as yesterday" (Psalm xc, 4). The sermon

the see and the coffin, which, after a few months' stay at Ripon, found a home on a site unequalled for beauty and strength by any other place in England. The wanderers cleared the summit of the hill and began the erection of a church of stone, the predecessor of the present magnificent cathedral of Durham. The church was finished in 999.¹ In 1104, after the building of the new cathedral of Durham by William of St. Carileph, Cuthbert's body was translated into the new seretory with extraordinary ceremony. The richest gifts came to the cathedral of Durham on account of these relics. The names of many of the benefactors were printed in gold and silver in a book kept for the purpose.² Scott repeats an old tradition that the exact place of interment was kept hidden by three members of the Benedictine order, who regularly transmitted the secret to three successors.

" There, deep in Durham's Gothic shade,
His relics are in secret laid ;
But none may know the place,
Save of his holiest servants three,
Deep sworn to solemn secrecy,
Who share that wondrous grace."³

This tradition was exploded in 1827 by the examination of the grave. The same relics were discovered as those described by Reginald, as found in the grave in 1104. Within the first coffin was another, which was supposed to belong to the year 1104, and this inclosed a third, which answered the description of the one made in 698. Within this was found the entire skeleton of Cuthbert, wrapped in five robes of embroidered silk. Fragments of these and other relics found in the coffin are to be seen in the cathedral library at Durham.⁴ Until the Reformation no woman was suffered to approach

is found in one of the volumes published by the trustees of the Lightfoot Fund, *Leaders of the Northern Church*, Lond. and N. Y., 1890 ; 2d ed., 1891, pp. 71-86, with valuable notes by Harmer.

¹ A full history of the bones of Cuthbert is found in the works of Simeon of Durham (in Latin), pub. by the Surtees Society, Durham, 1868.

² This book has been published by the Surtees Soc., *Liber Vital Dunelmensis*.

³ *Marmion*, ii, xiv. See the notes of Scott and Lockhart, in Rolfe, ed. of *Marmion*, Post., 1885, pp. 266, 267.

⁴ Full particulars as to the discovery of the relics of Cuthbert are given by Raine, in *St. Cuthbert, Durham*, 1828, with an account of the state in which his remains were found upon the opening of his tomb in 1827. It has been maintained, without sufficient reason, that the bones discovered were not those of Cuthbert. This view found expression in *Remarks on St. Cuthbert*, by Raine (Newcastle, 1828), ascribed to Lingard, and more elaborately in the *History of St. Cuthbert*, by the (R. C.) Archbishop of Glasgow, Pyre,

the shrine. A sacramental cloth supposed to be used by him was carried in battle to give victory to the army which carried it, and one factor leading to the defeat of his countrymen at Flodden was the banner of St. Cuthbert.

Several causes led to the decay and final extinction of the Celtic Church in Scotland. There were, first, the bitter feuds over the questions of ritual. Some of the monks were in favor of the Roman custom, others were strenuously attached to their own ways. At length, through the influence of Naiton, King of the Picts, the monks at Iona adopted the Roman rite, 716. But the affiliated monasteries refused to give up their ancient traditions. This enraged Naiton, who expelled the stubborn monks. Thus passed away the primacy of Iona, and with it the undivided and prosperous life of that marvelous Church.¹

A second cause of the decay of the Columban Church was the introduction of secular clergy. This probably originated with Wilfrid of York, the champion of the Roman Easter. Boniface came from Rome, says the legend, with a number of priests and deacons, and, under the patronage of King Nectan, planted a Church which knew not Columba. There is no doubt an historic basis for the legend. It points to the "entrance into Scotland of a strong Italian influence, which was displacing the Irish or Columban."² Fourteen churches in the east of Scotland were dedicated to St. Peter. Northumbrian architects began to build churches in the Roman style. All this indicates clearly the passing of the Irish-Scottish Church.

A third cause was the development of the hermit life. It arose from the conviction that the solitary life, or the life of an anchorite, was a higher life than a cenobitical life in a monastery. Jerome

who thinks that the body was removed by some Benedictine monks in the reign of Queen Mary, and concealed in another part of the building. "There is a continuous and well-grounded tradition that such was the case, and that the secret as to the spot where the sacred relics lie has been jealously handed down to our own day in the English congregation of the Order of St. Benedict."—Dom Oswald Hunter Blair, note in *Bellesheim*, i, 170. The best source for Cuthbert's life is his *Life* by Bede, ed. Smith, pp. 227-264, ed. Stevenson, pp. 45-137. The latest life is by Fryer, *Cuthbert of Lindisfarne*, Lond., 1880. For notice of new ed. of *Eyre*, see *Church Quar. Rev.*, Jan., 1888, p. 313. See also Browne, *The Venerable Bede*, Lond., 1879, pp. 93-117; also, *Historical Scenes in Durham Cathedral*, Durham, 1887. A full description of the Cuthbert literature is given by Raine in Smith and Wace, s. v., and Wright, *Descriptive Catalogue*.

¹ Skene, ii, 178; *Bellesheim*, i, 147, 148.

² Gamrack, art. *Bonifacius Queretinus*, in Smith and Wace; *Bellesheim*, i, 176-178; Forbes, *Kal. of Scottish Saints*, pp. 281-283.

describes three kinds of monks: the cenobites, those living in common; the anchorites, those living apart from men; and the Remoboth, the "worst and most neglected."¹ John Cassian also speaks of the Sarabaites, who joined themselves by two or three in a company, to live after their own humor, not being subject to any man.² Bede, a Benedictine monk, regarded the anchorite as at the climax of religion. He describes St. Cuthbert as "advancing in the merits of his devout intention, and proceeding even to the adoption of a hermit life of solitary contemplation and secret silence," so that he was "permitted to ascend to the leisure of divine speculation, and rejoiced that he had now reached the lot of those of whom we sing in the psalm: 'The saints shall go from virtue to virtue, the God of gods shall be seen in Zion.'"³ These anchorites came to be called *Deice'ra*, God-worshippers, or, by inversion, *Colidei*, *Celle De* (in Ireland), *Keledei* (in Scotland), *Culdees*.⁴

Hector Boece, professor in the University of Aberdeen, in the sixteenth century, originated the theory that the Culdees were the Columban monks, who differed radically from the Church of their time in the earnestness of their piety and evangelical tone of their theology.⁵ This was the prevailing theory of Protestant writers until it was completely exploded by Reeves. The Culdees were the anchorite monks who invaded Scotland in the eighth and ninth centuries in large numbers, but who were finally brought under the rule of secular canons. These monks were not noted either for piety or knowledge. In fact, they were more superstitious and corrupt than their brethren of the ordinary monastic communities. The chief endowments of their monasteries were often held by nobles, who called themselves abbots, but who were laymen, and transmitted their privileges to their children. The Culdees took

¹ Ep. ad Eustochium, xxii.

² Collationes, xviii. For full description see Skene, ii, 233, ff.

³ Il. E., iv, 28; Vit. S. Cuthb., xvii.

⁴ The history of these names and the monks to whom they applied is given with great clearness and research by Reeves, *The Culdees of the British Island*, Dublin, 1864, and Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, ii, 238-277.

⁵ Episcopalian and Catholic writers have charged this theory to the partisanship of Presbyterian writers, but this charge is entirely unfounded. While the theory springs from Boece it is believed by other old romantic historians of Scotland. It is indorsed by Poud, *The Culdees*, in *Meib. Quar. Rev.*, Oct., 1861, pp. 628-638. The researches of Irish and Scotch antiquaries, however, have made worthless a good deal of pious historical disquisition. See Mitchell, art. *Culdees* in *Schaff-Herzog*, and new ed. of *Chambers's Encyc.*

the place of the Columban clergy, and were themselves a disintegrating element in the mediæval Scotch Church.¹

The invasion of the Danes was also another cause of the collapse of Celtic Scotland. They burned Iona in 795 and again in 802, and its "family" of sixty-eight persons was martyred in 806. A second martyrdom in 825 is the subject of a contemporary Latin poem by Walafridus Strabo. On the Christmas evening of 985 the island was again wasted by the relentless Norsemen. Thus the ecclesiastical capital was transferred from Iona to Dunkeld, thence in 865 to Abernethy, and finally in 908 to St. Andrews.

The reforms of St. Margaret were another feature of the new ecclesiastical life in Scotland. She was a native of Hungary, and was brought up in the court of her great-uncle, Edward the Confessor, with Lanfranc as teacher. In 1068, with her mother and sister and little brother, Edgar the Atheling, she fled from Northumberland to Scotland. Here her beauty, piety, and brilliant accomplishments won the heart of the Scotch King, Malcolm Canmore, to whom she was married in 1069. "There is, perhaps," says Skene, "no more beautiful character in history than Margaret. For purity of motives, for an earnest desire to benefit the people among whom her lot was cast, for a deep sense of religion and great piety, for the unselfish performance of whatever duty lay before her, and for entire self-abnegation, she is unsurpassed."² She at once began the reform of the Celtic Church. The customs of the Church she regarded as contrary to the true faith and sacred customs of the universal Church, and at her councils both she and her royal husband contended against the supporters of these strange customs.³ The first point insisted on was the observance of Lent. The Catholic Church commenced the forty days' fast on Ash Wednesday, and so, omitting Sundays, which were never days of fasting, fasted forty days. The Celtic Church began on the Monday of the following week, and if the Sundays of Lent were not observed as fast days, as was probable, the Church fasted only thirty-six days. The representatives of the old order were satisfied with Margaret's reasonings, and brought their method into conformity with the universal Church.

Another matter was that of the celebration of the Easter eucharist.

¹ Haddon, in Smith and Cheetham, art. Colli, speaks of the "combined ignorance and partisanship" which have "perverted the facts" in regard to the Culdees. This is entirely gratuitous.

² Celtic Scotland, ii, 344.

³ Turgot, Vita S. Margarete, viii.

"How is it," said Margaret, "that ye receive not at the festival of Easter the sacrament of the body and blood of it, according to the usage of the holy and apostolic Church?"

"The apostle teaches us," said they, "that those who eat and drink unworthily eat and drink judgment to themselves; and since we acknowledge ourselves to be sinners we fear to approach that mystery, lest we should eat and drink judgment to ourselves."

"What then?" answered the queen, "shall no one that is a sinner taste of that holy mystery? If so, no one whatsoever dare approach it, for no one is sinless, not even the infant that hath lived but one day upon the earth."

Then she urged the text, "Except ye shall eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye shall not have life in you," and explained the apostle's warning as applying to those who do not by faith distinguish the sacramental food from corporal food. "It is the man who partakes of the holy mysteries," says the fair theologian, "carrying with him the defilements of his sins, without confession or penance, that eateth and drinketh damnation to himself. But we who many days before have confessed our sins, have cleansed our souls by penance, and washed away our stains by almsgiving and many tears, and then on Easter Day draw near in catholic faith to the table of the Lord and receive the body of the Lamb without spot, we eat and drink, not to judgment, but to the remission of our sins." The queen again prevailed. The people ever after observed the sacrament of salvation, "Knowing the meaning of the Church's practices."¹

Margaret was equally successful in regard to Sunday observance. The Scots had kept up the practice of the primitive Jewish Church and the ancient monastic Church of Ireland of observing Saturday as a day of rest and Sunday as a day of religious service, but not of cessation from work. "Let us," said Margaret, "venerate the Lord's day, inasmuch as upon this day our Saviour rose from the dead. Let us do no servile work on that day, whereon we are redeemed from the slavery of the devil." From this time no one dared to carry any burdens on the Lord's day. She also succeeded apparently in breaking up the custom of marry-

¹ This is the language of Turgot, the queen's biographer. But Grab, *Ecc. Hist. of Scotland*, i, 196, note, well says that Turgot leaves something here unexplained. For all that appears to the contrary the Celtic Church had abandoned the reception of the eucharist at other times of the year as well as at Easter. Lord Hailes, *Annals*, i, 45, infers from this that the "clergy of Scotland had ceased to celebrate the communion of the Lord's Supper." But this could hardly have been the case.

ing a deceased brother's wife or a stepmother, which was a common custom both in Ireland and Scotland.

But darker abuses the good queen could not sweep away. One of these was the hereditary possession of abbacies and ecclesiastical posts. If the abbot was not married, or had no concubines, the tribe or family to which he belonged provided a fit person in order to fill the office. Thus the ecclesiastical offices came in direct succession in the family. Worse still, the abbots, as a next step, did not take orders at all, providing some ecclesiastic to perform religious duties, while they retained all the privileges and emoluments of the abbacy.¹ Thus powerful families kept the great ecclesiastical offices for their own use for generations. What did two or three days more or less in Lent amount to in the presence of such a crying evil as that? But perhaps the queen was restrained by knowing that her royal house owed its origin to the lay abbots of one of the principal monasteries, and was largely endowed with the possession of the Church.² She was also silent concerning the abominable Scotch custom of selling their wives, which the great moralist, Gregory VII (1073-86), pointed out to Lanfranc as a custom among the Scots, and which he called upon him rigidly to suppress.³ Margaret died November 16, 1093, three days after her husband, at the age of forty-six, worn out by the cares and troubles of a turbulent reign. She bore her husband six sons and two daughters.⁴

The work of Margaret was continued by her younger son David, Prince of Cumbria (1107, ff.) and King of Scotland (1124-53). He reconstituted the great see of Glasgow, 1115, and erected churches and founded monasteries, which he endowed with possessions and covered with honors. He found in the whole kingdom of Scotland three or four bishops only, but left nine at his death. He left also monasteries of the Cluniac, Cistercian, Tyronian, Arovensian, Præmonstratensian, and Belvacensian orders.⁵

David's reign put the finishing stroke to the expiring Celtic Church. The old Celtic arrangement of Church government by

¹ Skene, ii, 338, ff., who gives full information on this outrageous abuse.

² *Op. cit.*, ii, 350.

³ Tuam vero fraternitatem admonemus, quatenus inter omnia et præ omnibus, nefas quod de Scotis audivimus quod plerique videlicet proprias uxores non solum deserant, sed etiam vendunt, omnibus modis prohibere contendat. See Robertson, *Hatata*, p. xxiv, note; Bellesheim, i, 251, note.

⁴ The Latin Life of St. Margaret by her confessor, Turgot, Bishop of St. Andrews, has been trans. by Forbes-Leith, Edinb., 1884.

⁵ Ailred of Rivaux, in Pinkerton, *Vit. Sanct.*, p. 442; Skene, ii, 376.

abbots was completely superseded by the division of Scotland into dioceses, the erection of bishoprics, and thence the ordinary diocesan government in subordination to Rome. Along with this was the final suppression of the *Keldeei* (Culdees). David ordered that the Culdee monks should be received into the canons regular, and if they refused they were to be allowed to retain their possession until their death, after which no more Culdees were to be appointed, but their revenues appropriated to the use of the canons. In a few years, therefore, this nondescript monastic guild entirely disappeared.¹ At the same time their place was taken by the invasion of the monastic establishments of the Catholic Church, thus completing the Romanizing of Scotland.

DISAPPEAR-
ANCE OF THE
CULDEES.

Nothing could exceed the enterprise and liberality with which the pious and great-hearted King David established the Church in Scotland. He restored the fallen bishopric of Glasgow, founded and endowed the bishoprics of Ross, Aberdeen, Caithness, Brechin, and Dunblane, enriched the sees of St. Andrews, Moray, and Dunkeld, and revived the old see of Galloway (Whithorn). He founded or restored the abbeys at Kelso, Jedburg, Melrose, Newbattle, Holyrood, Cambuskenneth, and Kinloss, as well as a number of minor religious establishments. This enriching process led Bellenden to say that the "crown was left indigent throw ampliation of gret rentis to the Kirk," and James I of Scotland remarked when he stood on David's tomb at Dunfermline that "he was ane sair sanet for the crown." On the other hand, George Buchanan said that "if men were to set themselves to draw the image of a good king they would fall short of what David showed himself throughout the whole course of his life." David organized the judiciary system, established burghs, provided commerce and learning, and sought in every way to advance the State and Church of Scotland.² Though often called St. David, he was never canonized, but his name was inserted in the calendar of Laud's Prayer Book for Scotland, printed in Edinburgh in 1637.

VIGOROUS
REIGN OF
DAVID.

"And thus," says Skene, "the old Celtic Church came to an end, leaving no vestiges behind it, save here and there the noble walls of what had once been a church and the numerous old burying grounds, to the use of which the people still cling with tenacity, and where occasionally an ancient Celtic cross tells of its former state.

¹ Full information as to this is found in Skene and Reeves.

² Full particulars of David's reign according to best recent light will be found in Robertson, Scotland under her Early Kings, Edinb., 1862, Innes, Scotland in the Middle Ages, 1860, and Skene, Celtic Scotland, new ed., 1887.

All else has disappeared ; and the only records we have of their history are the names of the saints by whom they were founded, preserved in old calendars, the fountains near the old churches bearing their name, the village fairs of immemorial antiquity held on their day, and here and there a few lay families holding a small portion of land, as hereditary custodians of the pastoral staff or other relics of the reputed founder of the Church, with some small remains of its jurisdiction."¹

¹ Celtic Scotland, ii. 418.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE LEARNING AND LITERATURE OF THE OLD SCOTCH CHURCH.

THE Scotch Church made large provision for the cultivation of learning. This was the special mission of the monasteries. In the parent school at Iona, Columba spent much of his time daily in study, prayer, and writing, or some other holy occupation. Here he transcribed the Psalter and compiled or wrote a book of hymns, for the office of every day in the week.

"Thrice fifty noble lays the apostle made,
Whose miracles are more numerous than grass,
Some in Latin, which were beguiling;
Some in Gaelic, fair the tale."¹

He was a characteristic product of the Celtic Church in its first and palmiest days, and left us his Rule, letters on important ecclesiastical affairs of his day, seventeen instructions or sermons addressed to monks, and one or two practical works, all written in pure Latin and exhibiting profound knowledge of the Scriptures and of the contemporary history and literature of the Church. He exalts the Bible as the only rule of faith. He declares that his Church receives nothing beyond the teaching of the evangelists and prophets, and, when speaking of one of the doctrines of the Church, says, that, as to the Trinity, we must accept only what the sacred Scriptures themselves say.²

COLUMBA'S
LITERARY
WORK.

At the end of the seventh century the Celtic monasteries had a special officer whose business it was to teach, lecture, and transcribe the ancient records. One of the literary monuments of this Church is the Book of Armagh, compiled by the scribe of the Church of Armagh in 807. It begins with the oldest memoirs of St. Patrick, followed by his Confession. Then come St. Jerome's Preface to the New Testament, and then the

THE BOOK OF
ARMAGH.

¹ A quatrain quoted in the Old Irish Life of S. Columba.

² Migne, Pat. Lat., xxxvii, col. 233. Skene (ii, 422, 423, note) thinks that his remark, "*Ceterum disputatio, seu ingerere in mentem per alios, non est sapientia, quæ vel mundi in natione fallitur, de Deo magistra esse non potest, sed sacriloga et impia in Deum præsumenda est,*" is intended as a protest against the Athanasian Creed, with its metaphysical subtleties, which was making its appearance about that time.

Four Gospels, St. Paul's Epistles (prefaced by remarks chiefly from Pelagius), the Apocalypse, the Acts of the Apostles, and finally the Life of St. Martin of Tours, written by Sulpicius Severus, and a short litany for the writer. The Epistle to the Laodiceans, found in many ancient Latin manuscripts of the New Testament, is inserted between the Epistle to the Colossians and the First Epistle to Timothy. The celebrated verse on the heavenly witnesses (1 John v, 7) is omitted, as it is also in the oldest copy of the Vulgate.¹

The Columban Church gave the northern Picts letters and a written language. That language was the standard written Irish, and became the language of the Church, the monastery, and the school. For generations these Scottish monks were the teachers of the Picts. An interesting specimen of their writing is the Book of Deer, a manuscript belonging to the Church of Deer, a village of Buchan, Aberdeenshire. In 1715 a Latin manuscript, a small octavo of eighty-six pages, found its way into the Cambridge University Library. There it lay comparatively unnoticed until 1860, when Henry Bradshaw, the librarian, called the attention of scholars to it. It contains St. John's and parts of the other three Gospels in the Vulgate, the Apostles' Creed, and a fragment of an office for the visitation of the sick, with a Gaelic rubric. On the blank leaves of the manuscript, in the handwriting of the early part of the twelfth century, are several Gaelic entries, written in the Irish character, relating to the endowments of the monastery. These are the oldest specimens of the Scottish Gaelic. The Gaelic ornamentations enriching the manuscript are also interesting. In 1869 this valuable discovery was placed before the public by the Spalding Club.² It was left to the Protestant Renaissance to give to the Scotch a literature in their native Gaelic³—a desire never professed by either the Columban or the Roman Catholic Church.

The organization of Scotland under the papal system was both a blessing and a curse. It was a blessing in that it brought Scotland into relation to the wider currents of culture, and made her take part in the highest civilization and art of the age. This was necessary for the larger development of Scotland, and her strengthening in all elements of national growth and greatness. Scottish students were found in the European uni-

ADVANTAGES
UNDER THE
PAPAL SYSTEM.

¹ See Reeves, *Book of Armagh*, first pub. in 1851; Skene, ii, 423, 424.

² Edited by John Stuart, with a valuable preface. See also Anderson, *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, Edinb., 1881; Skene, ii, 453; Chambers's *Encyc.*, new ed., iii, 729, 730 (1889).

³ Skene, ii, 463.

versities. Scottish literature received an impetus. Erasmus noted the fact that the Scots had a remarkable affinity for abstract thinking. Michael Scott was the first to introduce the Aristotelian Commentaries of Averrhoes into the Western schools—an event of great importance in the intellectual history of Europe. To Duns Scotus—undoubtedly a Scotsman—belongs the credit of leading, by his remorseless logic, to the emancipation of men's minds from the scholastic philosophy, after it had done its work of discipline in the mind of Europe. The historians John of Fordun (1384-87), Bower, Boece, and Major wrote their country's annals. The Scottish universities were founded late—St. Andrews in 1411, Glasgow in 1451, and Aberdeen in 1494—but they performed an immense service to the country. It was Scotland's relation to the Continent which gave her the Reformation.

But the Romanization of Scotland was also her curse. It induced a downward tendency in morals, which seemed to be a universal result of the full-fledged Roman system wherever it could work without check. This decadence was seen in several ways. First, we see it in morals. Clerical piety had declined. The clergy lived in unblushing concubinage. Clerical pre-^{ADULT UNDER THE PAPAL SYSTEM.} ferments were given by favoritism, or fraud, or force. Wealthy and unscrupulous laymen possessed Church offices. Bloodshed was an accompaniment of a change of Church offices. Cardinal Beaton was open in his amours, and succeeded in marrying his oldest daughter to the son of the Earl of Crawford. Hepburn, Bishop of Murray, was equally shameless, but with a coarseness of bravado against which the cardinal was guarded by his culture and better taste. Even the decorous Gavin Douglas, Bishop of Dunkeld, did not die childless.¹ Other sins kept pace with the unbridled licentiousness of the clergy. Profane swearing was so common that “to swear like a Scot” became a proverb throughout Europe. The writings of Bishop Douglas are interlarded with profane oaths. The spirit of the new order attempted to arrest this evil.

The Parliament of 1551 turned its attention to the swearing clergy. A prelate of Kirk, earl or lord, was fined twelve pence for the first offense, and for the fourth offense such prelate or lord was banished or imprisoned for a year and a day. The rapacity of the clergy was equal to their depravity. The property of the nobility and commoners had long been sliding into their hands. By the beginning of the sixteenth century they possessed by far the larger part of the landed property of the realm. The

¹ Moffat, *The Church in Scotland*, pp. 274, 275.

beds of the dying were besieged by importunate priests seeking legacies for their convents. And no sooner had the poor wight breathed his last than the priest came and carried off his "corpse-present,"¹ and if he died rich, heavy charges were made for his purgatory masses. One of the offices of the priest was

CLERICAL
CURSING.

cursing, calling down a curse upon the head of an offender. For this office a charge was made. Knox describes this process thus—that is, the ordinary cursing for small offenses: "The priest whose duty and office it is to pray for the people stands up on Sunday and cries. 'Ane has tint a spurtill' [some one has lost a porridge-stick]; 'thair is ane flail stolen from them beyond the burne;' 'the guid wife on the other side of the gait has tint a horne spune;' God's malison [curse] and mine I give to them that knows of this geir and restores it not.'" An unhappy precentor was overheard saying in his sleep, "The deevil tak the priests, for they are a greedy pack."² For this he was arrested, and would have been put to death had it not been for a timely recantation. Tithes and other church dues were exacted, and if these were not forthcoming "letters of cursing" were issued, and these letters were the preliminary step of a warrant for arrest and imprisonment and for the impounding and seizure of goods. What with distraining, exactions, and excommunications for property, on the part of the Church, is it any wonder that the eternal Justice had sounded the doom of Roman Catholic Scotland?

The decadence was seen also in preaching. The Roman Scottish Church cared nothing for preaching. It was a lost art on the part of the bishops and secular clergy. Sir David Lindsay reproaches the clergy with their inability to preach:

"Great pleasure were to hear one bishop preach,
One abbot who could well his convent teach,
One person flowing in philosophy;
I tyne [lose] my time what will not be;
Were not the preaching of the begging friars,
Tynt were the faith among the secular."

When Archbishop Dunbar of Glasgow came to Ayr to stop George Wishart's mouth, who revived preaching, the "bischope preched to his jackmen and to some old bosses of the town. The

¹ The corpse-present was the priest's perquisite on the death of a parishioner. In the family of a farmer this would usually be one of the cows, and what was called the "upmost cloth," or outer garment of the departed; "nor does it seem to have been usual to remit the claim if the clothing of the family was already too scant or if the one cow was all the poor man had." Moffat, *The Church in Scotland*, pp. 283, 284.

² Knox, *Ilist.*, p. 14.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 15; McCrie, *Sketches of Scottish Church History*, 6th ed., p. 15.

sum of all his sermon was, "They say that we should preach; why not? Better late thrive than never thrive; had us still for your bishop, and we will provide better for the next time." DECAY OF
PREACHING. This was the beginning and the end of the bishop's sermon, who with haste departed the town, but returned not again to fulfill his promise." When the queen regent was trying to coerce the people of Edinburgh into the old religion the Archbishop of St. Andrews, John Hamilton, ascended the pulpit of the abbey church of Holyrood, and "after he had vomited a little of his superstition, he declared that he had not been well exercised in the profession [of preaching]: therefore desired the auditors to hold him excused." "It is a remarkable fact," says Blaikie, "that two heads of the Church, the Archbishops of Glasgow and St. Andrews, should have earned so unquestionable a title as to be enrolled in the list of 'stikit ministers.'"¹ Lindsay of Pitscottie tells a story characteristic of the age. Andrew Forman, Bishop of Moray, who had won the gratitude of the pope for his offices of intercession between the pope and the King of France, was invited to Rome, where he was loaded with honors and made a legate. In return Forman made a dinner for the pope and his cardinals. Being a poor Latin scholar, when he began to say grace he stuck at the word *Benedicite*, expecting his guests to say *Dominus*. But as they said *Dans*, he lost his temper, and broke out in Scotch, "To the devil I give you all, false carles, in nomine patris, filii et spiritus sancti." "Amen," quote they. "Then the bishop and his men leugh [laughed]. And the bishop showed the pope the manner, that he was not a good clerk, and his cardinals had put him by his intendment [out of his intention]; and therefore he gave them all to the devil in good Scotch, and then the pope leugh among the rest."²

In 1560 John Knox mounted the pulpit of St. Giles Church in Edinburgh, and the old order changed, giving place to the new.³

¹ Knox, Hist., i, 166.

² Historie of the Estate of Scotland, in Miscellany of the Wodrow Soc., p. 67.

³ The Preachers of Scotland, 6th to 19th centuries, p. 33.

⁴ Pitscottie, Hist. of Scotland, 3d ed., p. 166; Blaikie, Preachers of Scotland, p. 38.

⁵ The preaching of the Lollards and the sufferings of the protomartyrs of Scotch Protestantism will be treated under the head of the Scotch Reformation.

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CHAPTER XXVII.

ST. PATRICK.

THE first Irishman who meets us in ecclesiastical history is Coelestius, the friend and follower of the great Welsh heretic, Pelagius. Coelestius was an irrepressible agitator. He is one of the most prominent figures in the literary and political world of the early years of the fifth century. He is first found at Rome practicing law. But the law proved for him a road to theology. He became acquainted with Pelagius and embraced his views with ardor. Pelagius was a recluse and student who hated the din of controversy. In Coelestius he found a man of untiring activity. Before Augustine at Carthage, the pope at Rome, and the patriarch at Constantinople, he expounded his views. Edicts of emperor and pope were directed against him. St. Jerome describes him as an "Alpine cur reared upon Scotch porridge."¹ Until the tenth century and after, the word Scotch always referred to Ireland, which was the Scotland of antiquity. In 416 Coelestius gained Pope Zosimus to his side. But Augustine and Jerome soon convinced Zosimus that this was a fatal mistake. The pope then veered, and condemned Coelestius. In 431 he was at the council of Constantinople, defending Pelagius and Nestorius. He was then condemned, and the undaunted Irish agitator passes out of sight. The life of Coelestius proves that Irish characteristics were much the same in the fifth as in the nineteenth century, and that Christianity was known in Ireland before the mission of Patrick.

The pioneer in Irish evangelism was Palladius, of whom a contemporary, Prosper of Aquitaine, says that in 431 he was "consecrated by Pope Celestine, and sent to the Scots [Irish] believing in Christ as their first bishop."² He was a Gaul, a disciple of Germanus of Auxerre, and sailed for Ireland, landed at Wicklow, preached, possibly founded a church or two,

¹ Com. in Jer. Proph., 1 Prolog. and Pref. in lib. iii, Migne, xlv, col. 682, 758. Marius Mercator, in *Commenitorium*, gives much information about Coelestius and Pelagius. See Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, pp. 23-25; Gam-mack, in Smith and Wace, i, 538; Lanigan, *Ecc. Hist. of Ireland*, i, 16, 17.

² Prosper, Chron., in Migne, Pat. Lat., ii, col. 595. See also Prosper, *Lib. cont. Collatores*, cxxi, in Migne, ii, col. 271.

was driven out by the natives, went to Britain and died there. These are the chief records of him, and what is beyond this is conflicting.¹

Few men have been the subject of more biographies than St. Patrick, and yet the authentic materials for his life are exceedingly scanty. His works consist of his Confession, his letter to Coroticus, and his Hymn. Outside of these the earliest historical sources are the Annotations of Tirechan and the Life of Patrick by Muirchu Maccumaetheni, and these are both two hundred years later than the saint, while the eminent Irish antiquaries, Whitley Stokes and the late Bishop Reeves, think that portions of them are as late as the ninth or tenth centuries. After these are Hymns in praise of Patrick, by St. Place and St. Sechnall, which the best authorities place between 700 and 900. Then come the seven lives published by Colgan, in his *Trias Thaumaturga*,² 1647, ranging from the seventh to the twelfth centuries. The last of these, called the Tripartite Life, from its three sections or divisions, is not later than the ninth century, and forms the basis of the best collection of the Patrician materials, that made by Whitley Stokes for the Master of the Rolls.³ A large part of this mass of materials is worthless. All these Irish lives "too often bid defiance to truth, reason, and decency, and, instead of history, present a specimen of the meanest fiction."⁴ From them can be culled a few notices out of which a meager and reliable history can be constructed, but they are mostly filled with extravagant legends. The wildness of these fictions leads us to conjecture, with Stokes, that they have been fashioned after the mythology of a heathen Celtic god, the stories being transferred to

¹ He is mentioned in the Book of Armagh. Sherman in his *Loca Patriciana*, *Dubl.*, 1879, has discussed with thorough knowledge all the localities traditionally connected with Palladius and historically or traditionally connected with Patrick. Ussher, in *Eccles. Britann. Antiq.* (Works, ed. Elrington, vol. vi), subjected Irish antiquities to a sifting that has left comparatively little to recent research. See Stokes, *art. Palladius*, in Smith and Wace; Olden, *The Church of Ireland*, pp. 10, 11, 406-411.

² So called because it gives the lives of three wonder workers, St. Patrick, St. Bridget, and St. Columba.

³ The Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, with other Documents relating to that Saint, with *Introd.*, translations, and *Indexes*, 2 vols., *London*, 1887. Full information concerning the sources of Patrick's life may be found in Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, notes to chap. ii, and his *art. on Patrick*, in Smith and Wace; Stokes, *Tripartite Life*, *Introd.*; Wright, *Writings of St. Patrick*, *Introd.*; and in other authorities mentioned in the notes below.

⁴ Reeves, *Adrianus*, *Vita S. Columbae*, in *Historians of Scotland*, vi, 223.

Patrick by a confusion of names.¹ In fact, one of the grounds for the authenticity of the Confession and the Epistle to Coroticus is the bald plain story, without miracle or fantastic story, with every mark of genuineness and honesty on its face.²

He thus confesses: "I, Patrick, a sinner, the rudest and least of all the faithful, and most contemptible to very many, had for my father Calpornius, a deacon, a son of Potitus, a presbyter, who dwelt in the village of Bannavem Taberniæ, for he had a small farm hard by the place where I was taken captive. I was then nearly sixteen years of age. I did not know the true God; and I was taken to Ireland in captivity with so many thousand men, in accordance with our deserts, because we departed from God, and we kept not his precepts, and were not obedient to our priests, who admonished us for our salvation."³

Nearly all recent critics agree that Patrick's birth place was at or near Dumbarton, on the Clyde. The objection urged by De Vinne⁴ that, though Patrick says his father was a deacon, Christianity had not been introduced into Scotland, does not hold, inasmuch as Ninian had built churches in that region as early as 397, and besides this, through the influence of the Roman army, Christian teachers were by no means unknown even beyond the pale of established Christendom. Two touches in Patrick's account prove his origin in the fourth century. His father was a deacon, a town councilor, and a farmer, for it was common in that time for the clergy to combine secular offices and employment with their sacred profession. In Africa, about the year 250, Cyprian tried hard to break up this practice, but did not succeed. Even much later, in the time of Justinian, an inscription on the walls of Assos, in Asia Minor, tells us how the walls were restored by Helladius, a presbyter and chief magistrate of the city.⁵ Patrick's father was a decurion, which is the same as town councilor. The decurions regulated the social and municipal life of the town, in fact, everything coming

¹ Tripartite Life, p. cxxxvii; Newell, St. Patrick, His Life and Teaching, Lond., 1890, pp. 177-179.

² For a specimen of the historic criticism by which these documents are proved genuine, see Stokes, in Smith and Wace, iv, 201-203.

³ Confession, i.

⁴ The Irish Primitive Church, N. Y., 1870, p. 20. De Vinne was a pioneer among American scholars in Irish Church history. His book is interesting, of solid learning, and still valuable. For an account of the life of this earnest student and consecrated minister, see Supplement to McClintock and Strong, Cyclopædia, ii, 272.

⁵ Boeckh, Cop. Inscr. Græc., No. 8838; Contemp. Rev., June, 1860, p. 983; Stokes, Ireland and the Celtic Church, pp. 42, 43.

under the view of our town councils. By the end of the fourth century these decurions were found nearly all over the Roman empire, a part of that wonderful system of administration by which Rome taught the world its best lessons of municipal government.¹ The decurions disappeared after the barbarian invasion. Another touch of antiquity and veracity is the mention of the fact as an ordinary matter that his father and grandfather were both clergymen. Clerical celibacy was not then the rule, at least in the provinces. It required many generations to enforce the new law. As late as 1076 the council of Winchester decreed that married priests living in castles or villages should not be compelled to abandon their wives.²

In this Roman town Patrick grew up to the verge of manhood. The example of his parents did not affect him. He looked upon his captivity at the age of sixteen as a reward for his sins. The Irish often made raids on the Roman camps and Scottish towns on the Solway. Many Roman coins have been found in the northeast of Ireland, on which the Romans themselves never set foot. Patrick became the slave of Milchu, King of Dalaradia, the most powerful kingdom in northeastern Ireland. In the center of County Antrim,

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DISCIPLINE
THROUGH
HARDSHIP.

at Broughshane, five miles east of Ballymena, he fed Milchu's swine, perhaps in the exact spot where Ballylignpatrick, the "town of the hollow of Patrick," commemorates the humble service of the apostle of the Irish. After six years he made his escape to France. His captivity had converted him, because he speaks of his faith and prayer at this time. It is very difficult to construct an intelligible account of Patrick's life from the time of his escape from captivity to that of his entering Ireland as a preacher. His Confession is meager and rhapsodical, and the later accounts are unreliable. It would appear that he again was taken captive in Gaul, which was even then largely pagan.³ We next find him with his parents in Britain. Many years had now passed. It would appear that they were spent in hardship, pain, and toil—not in study under Germanus at Auxerre, as some think, because his uncouth Latin shows that there was something in the sneer of his enemies against his lack of learning. But during the dreary years of discipline the indomitable Romano-

¹ On decurions see Hubner, vol. vii, Nos. 54 and 189, who proves that they were in Britain; Mommsen, *Handb. der römischen Alterthümer*, iv, 501-516, and Ephes. Epigr., ii, 137, iii, 103; Stokes, in Smith and Wace, iv, 201.

² Wilkins, *Concilia*, i, 367.

³ See Confession, iii, and note by Stokes in Wright, *Writings of St. Patrick*, p. 114. Ferguson (on the Patrician Documents, in *Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xxvii, 1885) thinks that Patrick refers to spiritual captivity, but this is unnecessary.

Scotchman ever kept before him as the goal of his life the conversion of Ireland. In this he was encouraged by dreams and visions, many of which he reports in his Confession in his broken, incoherent way. His training in Christianity he received in Gaul and in Ninian's Church in North Britain, and Celtic Christianity, whether in Gaul or Britain, was after the same pattern. It is likely that he was trained for the priesthood at Candida Casa in Galloway.¹ But he would not go to Ireland until he was made bishop, to which dignity he was ordained by Arnatorrex.

At the age of forty-five he started out on the career of his life.² He had been disciplined in a bitter school. Through many a sight of afflictions he kept unsullied his dauntless faith and purpose. Without great learning, but with wisdom derived from long and hard experiences with the world, and with the piety and serene confidence in God that came from protracted communion with Christ, he was now ready to carry out his great desire. He landed at Wicklow with several companions, and was received with a shower of stones. This was somewhere between 430 and 440. He pressed toward the North, to the place of his former captivity in Antrim. He passed Dublin, then a village beside a ford or bridge of hurdles over the Liffey. He sailed up to Strangford Lough, entered the lake, and landed at its northern end. His first convert was Dichu, a local chief, who gave him his barn (*sabhall*, thence *saul*) for a church. This is the present church at Saul, which has been used as a church ever since. Patrick then went to Milchu, the King of Antrim, his former master. The king's incantations made him no response, and he gathered up his household goods, set fire to his palace, and perished in the flames. The evangelist went throughout the surrounding country winning many converts.

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MISSION TO
IRELAND.

But something more spectacular and effective must be done before it could have any effect on the great mass of Irish people. Patrick, therefore, resolved to strike a blow at the very heart of Irish paganism, at Tara, the ecclesiastical and civil capital of Ireland.³ When Patrick arrived there the king was celebrating a

¹ Art. St. Patrick in *Encyc. Brit.*, 9th ed..

² Many of his biographers make sixty the age of his consecration, and this is followed by Stokes, *Tripartite Life*, p. cxxxviii. But the best computations from Patrick's slender data make forty-five the age. See Todd, *Life of St. Patrick*, p. 392; Haddon and Stubbs, *Councils*, i, 12; Keene, *Celtic Church*, ii, 18, 428, 429; Newell, *St. Patrick*, p. 32.

³ The Irish nation consisted of a number of provinces, each of which had its own king and made its own laws. But the King of Meath, having his seat at Tara, was an overlord, and held assemblies of all the subordinate chiefs.

pagan feast, and had lighted a fire in his palace. It was a rule that on that night no other fire should shine forth within sight of Tara's palace. Patrick kindled a fire for the celebration of the paschal feast on the opposite hill.¹ The king in consternation summoned his council. "This fire which has been lighted before the royal fire," said the Druids, "will never be extinguished unless it be extinguished this night. Moreover, it will conquer all the fires of our religion. And he who has lighted it will conquer us all, and will seduce all the subjects, and all kingdoms will fall before him, and he will fill all things and will reign forever and ever." The king took his magicians and proceeded to visit and punish the bold innovators. The Lives in the Book of Armagh then relate that Patrick was bidden to approach the royal presence. The Druids began to abuse the Christian faith and to blaspheme. One was especially abusive. The saint looked at him sternly, and then cried aloud to God, "O Lord, who canst do all things, by whose power all things consist, and who hast sent me hither, let this wretch who blasphemes thy name be forthwith raised aloft, and let him speedily perish." Whereupon the magician was caught up into the air, dashed head foremost against the earth, and thus miserably perished. This enraged the king, and he ordered Patrick to be seized. Then the saint began intoning the sixty-eighth psalm, "Let God arise, and let his enemies be scattered. Let them also that hate him flee before him." A horror of thick darkness came down upon the Druids, and they began to fight one another. An earthquake added to the terrors. The guards took to flight, and the king and queen stood with two attendants alone before St. Patrick. Other prodigies followed—miracles upon miracles. Finally the king yielded to the prayers of his chief men, was baptized, and gave the heroic evangelist a safe conduct through Ireland.

Patrick then began his missionary journeys through Ireland, attacking paganism in its chief centers. He recognized the Celtic polity, the devotion of the tribes to their chiefs, and thus always directed his attention to the kings and princes. He knew no fear. He went to Moy Slecht, where stood the great national idol, Crom Cruach, surrounded

¹ Eusebius says that Constantine observed Easter Eve with such pomp that "he turned the sacred or mystical vigil into the light of day by means of lamps suspended in every part, and setting up huge waxen tapers as big as columns through the whole city." Bingham describes this custom at length, *Antiquities*, bk. xxi, ch. i, sec. 32; Smith and Cheetham, *Diet. of Chr. Antiquities*, i, 595; Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, pp. 74, 75, note.

pagan Ireland the trefoil was held sacred. The shamrock emblem grew out of this. Many of these pagan practices were Christianized.¹ Patrick is also said to have freed Ireland from snakes and noxious insects and animals. While fasting during Lent in the magnificent mountain Croagh Patrick, overlooking Clew Bay in Mayo, the demons and venomous reptiles of Ireland assaulted him. He drove them all into the sea. This is the story of Jocelyn, in the twelfth century. But other mediæval histories relate this story of Joseph of Arimathea, and Solinus, a geographer of the third century, speaks of the immunity of Ireland in regard to reptiles. A celebrated legend is that of St. Patrick's purgatory. This had a large vogue in the Middle Ages. It is still shown—a cave in an island in Lough Derg, near Pettigo, in County Donegal. Pilgrimages are often made to it. Giraldus Cambrensis recognized it as only a device of St. Patrick to enforce on the rude people the sense of eternal realities.²

St. Patrick's theology is simple and evangelical. There is not the slightest trace of the later Roman dogmas. His writings are full of Christ and the Scriptures. For the most part there is nothing to offend the most orthodox Protestant sentiment.³

St. Patrick's hymn, the "Deer's Cry," or "Breastplate," is, like the early creeds, a poetical confession of faith:

"I bind myself to-day

To a strong power, an invocation of the Trinity,
I believe in the Threeness with a confession of a
Oneness in the Creator of judgment.

"I bind myself to-day

To the power of the birth of Christ, with his baptism,
To the power of the crucifixion, with his burial,
To the power of his resurrection, with his ascension,
To the power of his coming to the judgment of doom.

"I bind myself to-day

To the power of God to guide me,
The might of God to uphold me,

¹ See Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, p. 78, and the articles in *Notes and Queries*, 1864-69, by F. R. Davies.

² *Topogr. Hibern.*, dist. ii, cap. v. Full information is given in Barrow Gould, *Curious Myths of the Middle Ages*, Lond., 1868, and Wright, *St. Patrick's Purgatory*, Lond., 1844. See Stokes, in *Smith and Wace*, iv, 295.

³ In fact, St. Patrick's writings have been published by the Religious Tract Society of London in the admirable edition of Charles H. H. Wright, and the Confession, by the Methodist Book Concern of New York, as edifying reading for their patrons.

The wisdom of God to teach me,
 The eye of God to watch over me,
 The ear of God to hear me,
 The word of God to speak for me,
 The hand of God to protect me,
 The way of God to lie before me,
 The shield of God to shelter me,
 The host of God to defend me
 Against the snares of demons,
 Against the temptations of vices,
 Against [the lusts] of nature,
 Against every man who meditates injury to me,
 Whether far or near,
 Alone and in a multitude."

He had a true Celtic belief in charms and incantations:

"I summon to-day around me all these powers
 Against every hostile merciless power directed against my body
 and my soul,
 Against the incantations of false prophets,
 Against the black laws of heathenism,
 Against the false laws of heretics,
 Against the deceit of idolatry,
 Against the spells of women, and smiths,¹ and Druids,
 Against all knowledge which hath defiled man's body and soul."

But he had a vivid sense of the nearness of Christ and an absolute faith in his divinity:

"Christ with me, Christ before me,
 Christ behind me, Christ within me,
 Christ beneath me, Christ above me,
 Christ at my right, Christ at my left,
 Christ in breadth, Christ in length, Christ in height.
 Christ in the heart of every man who thinks of me,
 Christ in the mouth of every man who speaks to me,
 Christ in the eye of every man who sees me,
 Christ in the ear of every man that hears me.

"I bind myself to-day
 To a strong power, an invocation of the Trinity,
 I believe in a Threeness with a confession of a
 Oneness in the Creator of judgment.

¹ "Workers in metals were held in the highest estimation: the smith especially was invested with superhuman attributes of intelligence and power. The ordinary smith of common life is to this day regarded by the peasantry as endowed with magical power and influence. In ancient times he was looked on as a sorcerer and an adept in necromancy."—*Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, No. 35, pp. 219, 220.

" Salvation is the Lord's,
 Salvation is the Lord's,
 Salvation is Christ's,
 Let thy salvation, O Lord, be ever with us."¹

In his Confession² Patrick gives a statement of his belief. It is a brief Trinitarian confession, fewer in particulars than the Apostles' Creed, grouping everything around Jesus Christ. His was the theology of the apostolic Fathers, neither sacramental nor Roman.³

The question of Patrick's relation to the pope has been contested. Even if he were commissioned by the pope as the foremost

PATRICK'S RELATION TO ROME. bishop of the West, it would mean nothing for the Roman claims, nor for the obedience of the Irish Church to the Roman see. The question is of no controversial importance. But, as a matter of fact, the Roman mission of Patrick rests on no contemporary evidence. In his Confession, written especially to vindicate his call as the evangelist of Ireland, he makes no mention of such a mission. Nor in any of his writings is there reference to any relation to the pope. This omission is inexplicable if Patrick drew his commission from Celestine. But the writers of later legend took all their heroes to Rome. Cadoc, Kentigern, and all the Celtic saints are conducted by their biographers to Rome, and so St. Patrick must be similarly honored.⁴ The silence of Prosper of Aquitaine, who mentions Palladius's mission from Celestine, and the remarkable fact that Bede makes no mention of St. Patrick whatever—a silence which has led some to hold that Patrick himself is a myth—is very hard to explain on the hypothesis that the Apostle of Ireland went out from under the hands of the Bishop of Rome. Patrick himself,

¹ The original of this antiphon is in Latin, the rest of the hymn is in Irish. The form of this hymn reminds us of our own pagan Walt Whitman.

² Ch. i, 2.

³ His first biographers, writing two hundred years after, have imparted to him various sayings and sentiments which need to be tested by his own writings.

⁴ But on this subject the earliest Patrickian literature is as silent as Patrick himself. It is not mentioned in the Hymn of Secundinus, or the Hymn of Tírechán, or by Muirchu. Even Tírechán does not name it in the main narrative, but in the supplementary notes to Tírechán it is said Patrick "is sent as bishop to teach the Scots [Irish] by Bishop Celestine, Pope of Rome." Tírechán lived over two hundred years after Patrick, and this note is probably two or three centuries later than Tírechán, for the removal of Columba's bones to Iona, in County Down, is mentioned in the sentence immediately preceding, an event which happened in 877. Reeves, *Antiquities of County Down and County Antrim*, p. 224; Stokes, in Smith and Wace, iv, 205.

like Paul, attributed his mission to the direct call of Christ. In fact, the first Celtic Church was not troubled with too much reverence for the pope. Columba never sought his sanction for the conversion of the Picts, nor Columban for the conversion of the Germans and Swiss. We clear our minds of much misconception when we cease to transfer later theories and conditions into the earlier ecclesiastical history.¹

¹ For a discussion of St. Patrick's alleged mission from Celestine, see, for the affirmative, Moran, *Essays on the Early Irish Church*, Dublin, 1864, and his art. in the *Dublin Review* for April, 1880; and for the negative, see Todd, *Life of St. Patrick*, Dublin, 1864; Newell, *St. Patrick*, ch. iv; Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, Lond., 1892 (3d ed.), lect. iii; Olden, *The Church of Ireland*, Lond. and N. Y., 1892, appendix i; *The Position of the Old Irish Church*, in *Church Quar. Rev.*, Lond., Oct., 1885, pp. 89 ff., and *The Origin of Irish Christianity*, in the same, July, 1889, pp. 391 ff.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

MEDIEVAL IRELAND.

THE early Irish Church was organized after the fashion of the political organization of the country. When a chief became a Christian, and bestowed his dune and his lands upon the Church, he at the same time transferred all his rights as chief. But these rights still remained with his sept or clan, though subordinate to the uses of the Church.¹ At first the ecclesiastical offices were confined to the members of the sept or clan, and were hereditary. This even applied to the office of bishop, and down to a late period. Belonging to the ecclesiastical family were all the tenants, vassals, and slaves connected with the Church land. As a temporal lord the head of these tribal monastic Churches could exact rent and tribute and make war. It was not unusual to find these coheirs, as they were called, making war against one another. The colonies that went out from the original house remained subordinate to it.

The monastic king, as he might be called, was the supreme head of the Church—popes, bishops, and all other hierarchs being as nothing before him. Often this abbot-king was a layman, and it never entered the mind of the pre-Catholic Irish Church that there was anything anomalous or inconsistent with Christianity in a layman being the fountain of ecclesiastical authority. This place was sometimes held by a woman. When St. Bridget was abbess of Kildare, the first monastery in Ireland which included both men and women, she was the chief of the clan. For religious services she employed a bishop, who was completely under her dictation.² It is not likely that she ordained, although it is probable that these abbots, sometimes at least, ordained both presbyters and bishops. The Saxon Chronicle states that there were no bishops at Iona,³ and Bede tells us that the monks there ordained a missionary bishop for Northumbria.⁴ In the Rule of the Abbot Aurelian, a contemporary French monk of Columba, we read: "And whenever the abbot may de-

¹ Sullivan, art. Ireland: History, in Enc. Brit., 9th ed.

² See Olden, *The Church in Ireland*, pp. 38-44.

³ Ad ann. 565.

⁴ H. E., ii. 7.

sire, he has the power of ordaining."¹ This power was also exercised in the monasteries of Egypt.² The supreme authority in the Church would naturally include the appointment of its ministers. In fact, bishops in the early Irish Church were nothing more than chief presbyters. They swarmed throughout the country. In the time of Patrick there were three hundred and fifty of them. St. Mochta, of Louth, a disciple of Patrick, could rejoice over one hundred bishops in his monastic family :

"No poverty had Mochta in the burg of Louth,
Three hundred priests, one hundred bishops, together with him,
Eighty psalm-singing noble youths;
His household, vastest of courses.
Without plowing, without reaping, without kiln-drying,
Without work, save only reading."³

The Irish chroniclers looked upon the time when all the clergy were bishops as their golden period, and one sign of decay was the depression of the other clergy under a few bishops. IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL ORDERS. The Catalogue of the Saints of Ireland, in the eighth century, says that there were in the order of time as well as of sanctity three orders of Irish saints; the first most holy, the second very holy, the third holy. "The first order of Catholic saints," says this ancient authority, "was in the time of Patrick. And then they were all bishops, famous and holy and full of the Holy Ghost, three hundred and fifty in number, founders of churches. They had one head, Christ, and one leader, Patrick. They observed one mass, one celebration, one tonsure from ear to ear. They celebrated one Easter on the fourteenth moon after the vernal equinox, and what was excommunicated by one Church all excommunicated. They rejected not the service and society of women, because, founded on the rock of Christ, they feared not the blast of temptation." The second order of saints is spoken of as an order of "Catholic presbyters, in number three hundred." In the third order of saints there were "holy presbyters and a few bishops."⁴

The first Irish monasticism centered in a family. The monastery was an ordinary sept or family whose chief had become MONASTICISM IN IRELAND. a Christian. Sometimes the chief himself was the head. The ordinary family life went on as before. Some members

¹ Et quando abbas voluerit ordinandi habeat potestatem. Migno. lxxviii. 332.

² See a case reported by Cassian, Collatio, iv, i; Killen, Eccl. Hist. of Ireland, i, 35.

³ The Labor Brece, in Oengus, cxxxii; Olden, p. 33.

⁴ Newell, St. Patrick, p. 204, 205.

were celibates and some were not. Some of the monastic clergy lived with their wives. All joined in the various religious exercises of the abbey. The system had, as Sullivan says, many striking analogies to the Shaker communities of the United States. But this earlier system gave way to a stricter type of monastic discipline. Under the influence of Wales and France the anchorite principle was introduced. When once it gained a foothold it propagated itself like wildfire. All over Ireland the hermits lived in solitary cells. The nomenclature of the country shows this. A very common name is Desert, or Disert, as Desertmartin in Londonderry, Desertserges in Cork, and Killadysert in Clare. It signifies simply the solitary place where the anchorite took up his abode.¹ Often the anchorites lived near, or in connection with, a monastery, where there were monks living a more active and sensible life. St. Donlough's Church, near Dublin, was originally, in the twelfth century, an anchorite's cell.

Many of the cathedrals had anchorite cells attached to them. Then there were the beehive cells of Ireland, all inhabited by anchorites. The Irish monastery resembled a village of wattled huts. It was formed entirely after the Eastern or Greek pattern. On Mount Athos, the celebrated mountain of monasteries, the same system is prevailing to-day. In the Convent of St. Matthew at Mosul and in other celebrated monasteries of the East one will find the model of Iona, Clonmacnois, and Glendalough. Stokes has described the monastery of St. Molaise, on the island of Inismurray, seven miles from the western mainland, midway between Sligo Bay and the Bay of Donegal. In the outside inclosure the women lived, with their own chapel. Beyond them was a wall fifteen feet high, built of red sandstone slabs, like a peasant's cottage. This is the cashel or fortification. It is circular, and incloses half an acre. Inside are the famous beehive habitations and the old chapels. Seven of these cells remain. Stokes says: "I entered them all, and had to crawl on hands and feet to do so; they are circular, or nearly so, inside, and one or two still retain a stone offset about two feet above the floor to serve as a couch for the hermits. The roofing is formed by the slabs gradually overlapping one another, the courses thus drawing closer until they are capped by one central flag; the builders being entirely ignorant of the principle of the arch, this was the nearest approach they could make to it." The largest of these very ancient churches is twenty-four feet by fifteen, while the chapel of St. Molaise is only ten feet high, twelve

¹ Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, p. 178 ff.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 184-188.

feet long, and eight feet broad. They are rectangular in shape, had no chancel, and were of marble masonry. It is interesting to notice that so far west as Donegal Bay one may find an exact reproduction of the Syrian cells and churches built in conscious imitation, as Adamnan says, of Eastern models. Indeed, Ireland was indebted to the East for many peculiarities of religion, learning, and architecture.¹

Egypt had her share in mediæval Ireland. Cashels inclosing numerous churches and convents are common to both countries. The roofs of the Egyptian churches are like those of the ancient Irish. Embossed metal covers for manuscripts, hand bells, book satchels, and ecclesiastical fans are common to both the Coptic and Irish Churches. A notable illustration of the common life of these two Churches is found in the wide use in Ireland of the Book of Adam and Eve, written in the fifth or sixth century, in Egypt, and which is known in no other European country except Ireland. It had large vogue in Ireland in the Middle Ages.²

The round towers are another evidence of the marvelous inter-blending of Greek and Irish Christianity. Various hypotheses have been used to account for these famous buildings. They have been attributed to the fire-worshippers, to the pagan inhabitants of Ireland, and to the Danes. Some say they were pillars for Stylite saints, like St. Simeon of the Pillar. If so, the Irish saints had to stand or sit on the apex of a conical roof a hundred feet from the ground, where the merest slip would consign them to destruction. But the investigations of Petrie in 1830, which have been followed by Lord Dunraven and Miss Stokes, have dissipated any amount of speculation, and have placed the whole subject in scientific light. The conclusions of Petrie, which have been confirmed by later archaeologists, are: 1. The round towers are of Christian origin, erected at various periods between the ninth or tenth century and the thirteenth century. 2. Their use was twofold, as belfries, and also as keeps or places of strength, into

THE ROUND
TOWERS.

¹ De Locis Sanctis, ii, 27, in Migne, Pat. Lat., lxxxviii, col. 801.

² It is the eleventh or twelfth of the biblical poems and paraphrases which compose the *Saltair na Rann*, a collection of one hundred and sixty-two mediæval Irish poems, which have been published in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia* by Whitley Stokes, Oxford, 1882. The Book of Adam and Eve was translated into Æthiopic, and discovered in Æthiopia, and published by L. Trump, of the University of Munich, Munich, 1880. A translation was published by S. Malan, Lond., 1882. See Hort, in *Smith and Wace*, i, 34; Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, pp. 188-216, notes. This was a missionary trophy, brought home from Abyssinia by the missionary Krapff. A transl. into German was made by Dillmann, Gött., 1853.

which the sacred utensils, books, relics, and other valuables might be carried in case of danger, and to which their guardians, the ecclesiastics, might take refuge when suddenly attacked. They were the answer of the monks to the Danish incursions. '3. They were probably used also, when occasion required, as beacons or watch towers.' The elder chroniclers call them bell houses, and it is well known with what superstitious reverence the bells were held in the ancient Church. The first tower was built in 964, and between this date and 1008 a great movement in church building was going on in Ireland. There are one hundred and eighteen of these towers in Ireland, twenty of which remain either nearly or altogether entire. Their average height is from one hundred to one hundred and twenty feet, the average diameter at the base is fifty feet, and the average height of the doorway above the ground is thirteen feet. They are always built near a church, the doorway facing the church.

The development of ecclesiastical architecture, from Syria to Ireland, is a study of surpassing interest. The earliest churches were simple basilicas. Neither Roman nor Greek architecture possessed a tower. The Count de Vogüé, who was sent out by Napoleon III to study Syrian remains, in his work on Syrian architecture from the first to the seventh century proves that to these ancient Syrian Christians we owe the church tower. They first discovered the use of cupolas and towers built upon pendentives or hemispheres. De Vogüé brought to light the first cupola at Omneez Tertoun, built in 282. This method of construction reached its highest development in the Church of St. Sophia, at Constantinople, built in the sixth century by Justinian. As we stand beneath the magnificent dome of St. Paul's, or that of the Capitol at Washington, we should remember the humble Syrian Christians of the third century as the creators of this architectural triumph. It was from the Syrian school of architecture at Antioch that Justinian drew both his architects, Anthemius of Tralles and Isidore of Miletus, for his cathedral in Constantinople.² Justinian was a great builder. New

¹ Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, p. 236, who has an excellent chapter on this subject. See Petrie, *Christian Architecture of Ireland anterior to the Anglo-Norman Invasion*, in *Transl. of Royal Irish Academy*, vol. xx (1834), new ed., Dubl., 1845; Dunraven, *Memorials of Adare*, and *Notes on Irish Architecture*, ed. by Margaret M. Stokes, 2 vols., Lond., 1875-77; Miss Stokes, *Early Christian Architecture in Ireland*, Lond., 1878. O'Brien, *The Round Towers of Ireland*, Dubl., 1834, held to a Phallic origin, but there is no evidence of this. See Anderson, *Round Towers*, in new ed. of Chambers's *Encyc.*

² See Bayet, *L'Art Byzantine*, in *Bibliothèque de l'Enseignement des Beaux Arts*, Paris, 1883, esp. pp. 309-318.

structures and restorations of all kinds were the order of his day. All over the empire could be seen his churches, with their towers and arches and domes. Ravenna was specially favored. To this day among the frescoes of the Church of St. Vitalis, a church which he built soon after St. Sophia, the traveler can see his portrait.

Now this church and several other churches of Ravenna are built with round towers, identical in principle and construction with the round towers of Ireland.¹ From Ravenna the tower was introduced into western Europe. Miss Stokes gives such examples as the tower of Dinkelsbühl in Bavaria, the belfries of San Nicola at Pisa, San Paternian in Venice, one at Schönen in Switzerland, two at the Church of St. Thomas in Strasburg, two at Gemrode in the Hartz, two at Nivelles, and one at St. Maurice Epinal in Lorraine. Then there occurred that shortsighted iconoclastic crusade which exerted previously the same influence on mediæval Europe as did the intolerance of Louis XIV on Europe in the eighteenth century. One drove the artists, artisans, and skilled workers out of the East to enrich the West, and the other drove the most intelligent and conscientious workmen of France into Germany and England. This iconoclastic expulsion developed such very various departments as the manufacture of silk, the carving of ivory, and the production of goldsmith's work, while it alone explains the outburst of architectural art which marks the ninth and subsequent centuries.² In the Irish monastery of St. Gall, in Switzerland, there is preserved a plan for the rebuilding of the great church of that place, drawn about 829, in which we see lines for two round towers at the east end of the apse,³ while in the Cathedral of Aix-la-Chapelle, erected between 796 and 804, there are two round towers at the west end of the church.

CONNECTION
OF THE ROUND
TOWER WITH
GENERAL EC-
CLEASTICAL
ARCHITEC-
TURE.

¹ For a description of the Church of St. Vitalis, see Reber, *Hist. of Mediæval Art*, pp. 51-56; Vincent, *Ravenna*, in *Presb. Rev.*, Jan., 1880, p. 119. For connection of Ravenna with Ireland, see works of Dunraven and Miss Stokes, above, and Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, pp. 243-245. There is a dispute as to the date of these campaniles or bell towers of the Ravenna churches. Hulsch considers them of the same date as the churches themselves, or mostly earlier than the close of the sixth century, but Freeman (*Hist. Essays*, 3d series) maintains that they are all later than the days of Charles the Great (d. 814).

² Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, p. 247. Stokes here recognizes the labors of Labarte in his *Industrial Arts in the Middle Ages*, and of Viollet le Duc, the greater modern writer on architecture.

³ This plan was published by Keller, of Zürich, and repub. by Willis in *Archæological Journal*, 1848, p. 85. See Dunraven, *Memorials of Adare*, p. 325; Stokes, p. 248.

Ireland would not be long in learning the arts of Europe. Inter-
 course between the island and the Continent was most
 frequent. The French king Dagobert I was sent to
 Ireland for his education. French coins found in Ireland
 prove that there was constant commercial contact with the South.
 Foreign ecclesiastics abounded. Fifty Roman monks settled in Ire-
 land for the purpose of discipline and study, especially the study of
 the Scriptures, then much cultivated in Ireland. The Litany of Oen-
 gus the Culdee commemorates vast numbers of strangers who came
 to Ireland—Italians, Germans, Frenchmen, and, among others, Egyp-
 tian monks and orientals.¹ There was also constant correspond-
 ence between the Irish monasteries and the scholars of the Continent.
 Readily, therefore, could the Church towers of Byzantium be re-
 produced on the green sward of Ireland. The Danish invasions
 gave the pretext.

Irish civilization in the Middle Ages was a curious mixture of
 barbarism and the highest attainments in literature and
 art. The tribal organization and customs were similar
 to those of prehistoric Greece. The Book of Rights re-
 minds one of Homer.² Tribute in kind was furnished to the kings.
 Wars and quarrels between the kings and tribes were inter-
 minable. There was no national feeling. Jealousy, anger, and
 revenge were characteristic of the Christian chieftains of mediæ-
 val Ireland. A chief was ready to invite to his rescue or for
 vengeance a foreign force, although he knew that such an invi-
 tation would be the slavery of his country. Repeatedly Danish and
 English conquerors were invited by some discontented or defeated
 king, who nursed his wrath, like Achilles, in his tent. This
 fierce spirit of disunion and personal spite has been Ireland's great-
 est foe, even down to our century. Ireland was then, as now, a
 country of sheepfolds. Agriculture was little practiced. Plunder-
 ing expeditions were ordinary diversions. The Book of Rights
 solemnly lays down among the privileges of the king of Cashel or
 Munster that of burning Northern Leinster and of plundering the
 cattle of Croghan, on the rich plains of Roscommon, while the
 cuckoo sings.³ In fact, the country was often in a state of anarchy.

¹ Oengus lived in the time of Charlemagne, although Stokes attributes the Litany to the close of the 10th century. See his pref. to his ed. of the Calendar of Oengus, pub. in Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, 1880.

² The Book of Rights is a mediæval directory of taxation and customs, of inestimable value for the study of Irish history. It was edited by an eminent archæologist, John O'Donovan, Dublin, 1847.

³ Stokes, p. 193.

The ravaging expeditions were conducted with a barbarous cruelty. The tribesmen "spared neither age nor sex; they regarded neither monastery nor church. They revered their own local priest and their local sanctuaries, but they revered none other. Clonmacnois, Kildare, Clonard, Armagh, fared as badly at the hands of Christian Irishmen as at those of pagan Danes. These venerable shrines, whose history went back to the earliest ages, were often plundered, and finally burnt to the ground."¹ In the early part of the ninth century the King of Munster was at once abbot and bishop, barbarian and Christian. In his expeditions he plundered the most sacred places of Ulster, and put clergy and monks to the sword. Scandinavian rule could not be worse. The description of these things in the romances of Carleton simply recalls the mediæval chroniclers. In 755 Bishop Eutighern, of Kildare, was killed by one of his priests at the very altar of St. Bridget, in his own cathedral. An ancient story about one of these marauders, who had died, says that he appeared before Bishop Corprius, of Clonmacnois, all wretched and filthy on account of the punishment he was enduring in purgatory. The spirit prayed that the good bishop would beseech the mercy of God for himself and his confessor, who was in the same plight. The bishop prayed for half a year, when the spirit came back bright and clean in the upper part of his body, but wretched and filthy as to the lower part. Another six months' prayers were sufficient to cleanse the soul of the sufferer, and he appeared clear and radiant throughout. This mediæval legend compares well with Charles Lever's story, in Charles O'Malley, of Mickey Free and his father's sojourn in purgatory.²

Another evidence of the primitive survivals in Ireland is the administration of law. Every man was a law to himself; there was no conception of the State, nor of a crime against the State; there were laws and penalties, but every man was his own avenger. The execution of the law rested entirely with the person aggrieved. The Brehon laws of Ireland, like the Twelve Tables of ancient Rome, and the old Lombard and Teutonic laws, recognized the administration of law as a private function.³ The Irish had a magnificent scheme for the interpretation and exposition of law, LAW AND AN-
ARCHY. but none for its enforcement, except the impulse of private revenge. From time immemorial the Irish had brehons, or hereditary judges, whose sole duty it was to explain and apply the law, and act as judges in all cases of dispute. These brehons were

¹ Stokes, p. 199.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 201, 202; Salmon, Purgatory and Modern Revelations, in *Contemp. Rev.*, Oct., 1889.

³ See Maine, *Ancient Law*, chap. x.

held to a high standard of legal attainment and judicial fairness. They must spend all their time in the study of law, and the slightest partiality or injustice was punished. It was said that a divine avenger stood guardian over the right, and every brehon who swerved from it would feel the divine wrath. One legend told how a brehon of the first century wore a collar around his neck, which tightened when he delivered a false judgment and expanded again when he delivered a true one. "When the brehons deviated from the truth of nature there appeared blotches upon their cheeks."¹ But the brehons had no power to enforce their own decisions.

This primitive and almost anarchic condition of society existed in Ireland until the seventeenth century. The Teutonic races in their upward progress threw aside such a primitive system of law. "The Danes in Iceland," says Stokes, "showed their Teutonic genius for business by developing legislation and institutions more consonant with the wants of civilized society, and by the time of the Norman conquest of Ireland, that is, within three centuries of their settlement in Iceland, they had constructed a very elaborate judicial system with primary, intermediate, and appeal courts, very similar in many respects to those which now exist in these kingdoms. I do not think the student of comparative jurisprudence could come across a more interesting incident illustrating the varying genius of tribes and nations for political development than the very diverse fates which overtook the Brehon Code in Ireland and Iceland. The Celtic race clung to it. It suited their nature. It gave fine scope to their fighting capacities. If the decision suited the defendant he submitted to it; if not, he repudiated it, and fought it out with judge and plaintiff alike."² Froude,

FROUDE'S
ERRONEOUS
JUDGMENT.

therefore, is in gross error when he says that "when the Normans took charge of them the Irish were, with the exception of the clergy, scarcely better than a mob of armed savages; they had no settled industry, and no settled habitations, and scarcely a conception of property."³ The fact is, the Irish had set-

¹ Brehon Laws, iii, 305; Joyce, *Hist. of Ireland to 1608*, Lond., 1893, pp. 39, ff. The work of editing and translating these laws was given to two of the most eminent Irish scholars, John O'Donovan, professor of Celtic in Queen's College, Belfast, and Eugene O'Curry, professor of Irish Archaeology in the Roman Catholic University of Ireland. The result was pub. by the Master of the Rolls, Lond., 1895-95, 4 vols. To these volumes, with their ample introductions and notes, to Maine, *Early Hist. of Institutions*, Lond., 1875, to the articles by Ferguson in the *Encyc. Brit.*, and to Joyce as above, the reader is referred for full information.

² Ireland and the Celtic Church, p. 205.

³ The English in Ireland, vol. i, ch. ii.

tled habitations, though not of stone ; they had settled industries ; their conception of property was most definite, as the numerous provisions of the Brehon Code guarding property rights testify ; they had mills, good roads, and some of the arts, as we shall see, in marvelous state of perfection ; and they were the teachers of Europe. But all these things existed by the side of barbaric simplicity, rudeness, and fierceness.

CHAPTER XXIX.

LEARNING AND ART IN MEDIÆVAL IRELAND—EXTERNAL
HISTORY OF THE IRISH CHURCH.

IRELAND was the queen of Europe in art and learning. When the barbarians were wandering over Europe, the scholars took refuge in the Green Isle. Free from all disturbance except internal feuds, they there pursued their quiet work. The standard of learning in the Irish monasteries was higher than with Gregory the Great. It was derived from Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine, as from direct fountain heads. Both classical and sacred literature were cultivated.¹ The scholars of the Continent corresponded with the learned men of Ireland. Alcuin wrote from the court of Charlemagne to Colcu, senior lecturer at Clonmacnois, in terms which showed his profound reverence for his Irish friend. An interesting illustration of Irish learning came to light in 1812, when Letronne found in the French National Library two Irish manuscripts of the ninth century. It proved a work in geography by an Irish monk, Dicuil, *Liber de Mensura Orbis Terræ*, and is for that age remarkably accurate throughout. It actually quotes Pliny, Solinus, Pomponius Mela, Orosius, Isidore of Seville, and Priscian the grammarian, and is founded on the best information and observation of the time. The pride of Eastern learning, the *Chronicle of Makdas*, which reflects the highest culture of Antioch, is ridiculous for its mistakes when measured by the side of the Irish monk. Letronne was engaged in Egyptian investigations, and what attracted him to the geography of Dicuil was the fact that this Irishman, a thousand years before, gave as dimensions of the pyramids the exact figures which he had himself found by actual measurement. Dicuil also describes Iceland from the testimony of Irish missionaries who had gone there in the eighth century and established Christian worship.² Another learned Irishman was Johannes Scotus Erigena, who went from one of the Irish monasteries to the court of Charles the Bald of France, where he was from 841 head of the court school. He was a subtle and powerful genius, and his daring speculations disturbed the orthodoxy of the times. Aileran and Augustine, both of

IRELAND A
REFUGE FOR
SCHOLARS.

DICUIL AND
ERIGENA.

¹ Zimmer, *Irish Element in Mediæval Culture*, p. 19.

² Stokes, pp. 213-217.

the seventh century, were masters of Scripture, and the latter was often confounded with his namesake of Hippo. Virgil was a distinguished missionary as well as an able scholar. He had learned from the Greeks the sphericity of the earth, and fearlessly promulgated his theories, some of which were similar to Lytton's in his last novel, *The Coming Race*. For this, and for his opposition to the hard and fast ecclesiastical schemes of Boniface, he was complained of to the pope. But he seems to have been able to keep his see of Salzburg undisturbed from 744 to his death

in 784. Sedulius—eighth or ninth century—was another of these versatile Irish scholars. He was a profound biblical student, and familiar with all the exegetical writers of the Greek and Latin Church. He was also a poet and grammarian. His book on the Duty of Princes is enlivened with Latin verses; grave and gay. His commentary is one of the noblest remains of biblical exposition in the Middle Ages. While Erigena was a bitter opponent of Augustine's predestinarianism, Sedulius was a staunch believer in it. When Greek learning had perished out of Western Europe it was diligently caught up and cultivated in the Irish monasteries.¹

There was discovered at Würzburg an Irish commentary on the Bible, dating from the eighth or ninth century. It reveals an independent judgment and extraordinary learning. It frequently quotes Origen, Jerome, Augustine, Pelagius, Gregory the Great, and Isidore of Seville. Pelagius is the favorite, though the commentary by no means follows all his opinions.²

There was a rich sacred literature in mediæval Ireland. The Book of Kells is a Latin copy of the four gospels, written on vellum, and is preserved in Trinity College, Dublin. It belonged probably to the seventh century, and is so called because kept many years in Kells, Meath. The celebrated Book of Psalms, which Columba copied, and over which a battle was fought, may be seen in the National Museum of Dublin. The Book of Armagh, one of the most interesting literary relics of the Middle Ages, which has already been described, was published in 807. It is the most precious possession

THE BOOK OF
KELLS AND
OTHER LITER-
ARY TREAS-
URES.

¹ See the interesting chapter, "Greek and Hebrew Learning in Irish Monasteries," in Stokes, *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, pp. 210 ff., the references there given, and the interesting essay of Heinrich Zimmer, *The Irish Element in Mediæval Culture*, transl. by Jane Loring Edmonds, N. Y., 1901. This last is a tribute to the scholarly labors of the Irish monks on the Continent.

² *The Holy Scriptures in Ireland One Thousand Years Ago. Selections from the Würzburg Glosses.* Transl. by Rev. Thomas Olden, M.A. In *R. I. A.*, *Dubl. and Lond.*, 1888. *Ch. Quar. Rev.*, July, 1889, pp. 407-414.

of which Trinity College Library in Dublin can boast. The libraries of the British islands and of the Continent abound in Irish lives of the saints, written in Irish and Latin. There were nearly a dozen Lives of Patrick.¹ An Irish scholar abroad, John Colgan, published at Louvain, where he resided in the Irish monastery, a volume entitled *Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ*, 1645. These Lives were all translated by him from ancient Irish manuscripts. Two years later he published another Latin volume, *Acta Triadis Thaumaturgæ*, the Lives of the wonder-working Triad—namely, Saints Patrick, Bridget, and Columba. This contains seven Lives of Patrick, including the Tripartite Life. The industrious monk annotated his text with all kinds of learned information. Martyrologies are frequent, and Festival Lists of the saints, some of them poetical, with prologues and epilogues and prose prefaces, all in Irish.² The Book of Hymns, a manuscript of the ninth or tenth century, contains ancient Irish hymns, with commentaries by the mediæval copyists.³

Early Irish literature is rich in annals, historical works, and genealogies. They are remarkably accurate. Many of these have been published either in the original or in translation by such enthusiastic Irish scholars as Stokes, Reeves, Todd, Hennessy, and O'Donovan.⁴ While other European countries were still publishing their books in Latin, Ireland was developing a rich, varied, and learned literature in the vernacular.

But the attainments of Ireland in art are more wonderful still. The highest perfection was reached between the ninth and twelfth centuries. Pen ornamentation of a marvelously beautiful and perfect character was peculiar to the country. It was largely the work of ecclesiastics. It is "interlaced work formed by bands, ribbons, and cords, which are curved and twisted and interwoven in the most intricate way, something like basket work infinitely varied in pattern." The designs are all symmetrical, and are used chiefly in the capitals. One capital in

ART IN PEN
WORK.

¹ Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, ii, 425-444, gives an excellent account of the Lives of Patrick and the Hagiology of the Irish Church.

² One of the most interesting of these, the *Féilire* of Oengus the Culdee, has been published, with translation and notes, by Stokes, *Dubl.*, 1880.

³ This interesting volume has been translated and edited by Todd for the Irish Archaeological and Celtic Society, 2 vols., *Dubl.*, 1865-69.

⁴ A concise account of all this rich literary material is given by Joyce, *Short History of Ireland to 1698*, pp. 19-39. The author himself has translated many of the historical and romantic tales of mediæval Ireland in his *Old Celtic Romances*, *Lond.*, 1879. For a list of recent editions of Irish mediæval works, see Sonnenschein, *The Best Books*, pp. 1004, 1005.

the Book of Kells covers a whole page. Probably that book of the seventh century is the most beautiful one in existence. The pattern is often so minute and complicated that it requires a magnifying glass to examine it. What is more wonderful, the work by the pen in these old books is often illuminated in brilliant colors, which have faded but little in the lapse of a thousand years.¹ Miss Stokes, who carefully examined the Book of Kells, says: "No effort hitherto made to transcribe any one page of this book has the perfection of execution and rich harmony of color which belongs to this wonderful book. . . . No single false interlacement or uneven curve in the spirals, nor faint trace of a trembling hand or wandering thought, can be detected. This is the very passion of labor and devotion, and thus did the Irish scribe work to glorify his book."² His work is a miracle of art. Professor J. O. Westwood, of the University of Oxford, who made a comparative study of all similar works in Europe, calls it the "most astonishing book of the four Gospels which exists in the world," and says that with a magnifying glass he counted, "within the space of three fourths of an inch long by less than one half an inch wide, no less than one hundred and fifty-eight inter-lacements of a splendid ribbon pattern, formed by white lines edged with black ones. How men could have had eyes and tools to work such designs out I am sure I, with all the skill and knowledge of such kind of work which I have been exercising for the last fifty years, cannot conceive. I know pretty well all the libraries of Europe where such books as this occur, but there is no such book in any of them."³

One of the most perfect works of art in book-making is the Codex Rossanensis, which was discovered in 1880 in southern Italy. It was executed by the imperial artists of Constantinople in the time of the highest development of Byzantine art, the period of Justinian and the Church of St. Sophia. It is written in gold and on purple ground, and enriched with pictures. It is a marvel of beauty and skill, and yet when we compare it with the Book of Kells the work of the Celtic artists proves immeasurably superior

¹ Hartley read a paper before the Royal Dublin Society in June, 1885 (pub. in Proceedings), in which he shows that the coloring matter used in the Book of Kells was identical with that of the ancient Egyptians. This is another link between Ireland, Egypt, and the East. See Stokes, p. 207, note.

² Early Christian Architecture in Ireland, p. 127.

³ The Book of Kells, Dublin, 1887, pp. 5-11. Reproductions of many of these pages of the Old Irish books are given by Gilbert in his magnificent volumes, Facsimiles of the National Manuscripts of Ireland, Dublin, 1874, ff., 5 vols. See Joyce, Short Hist. of Ireland, part i, ch. xii.

both in design and execution.¹ But this work does not stand alone. The Book of Durrow, the Book of Armagh, and other old manuscripts are splendidly ornamented and illustrated.

Almost equally fine in its way is the metal work, especially that of the tenth and eleventh centuries. The artists worked in bronze, silver, gold, and enamel, and made crosses, croziers, chalices, bells, brooches, shrines, or boxes to hold books or bells or relics, and book satchels. Specimens of all these, many of them of the most remote antiquity, may be seen in the National Museum in Dublin.

Even in sculpture the Irish artists were equal to those of the Continent. There are forty-five great stone crosses which still remain in various parts of Ireland. Besides rich ornamentation on thirty-two, they contain groups of sacred history from both the Old and the New Testament. The ornamentation is of the same Celtic character that we find in metal work, and it exhibits the same masterly skill and ease in both design and execution. These sculptures in relief prove that these Irish workers were acquainted with the Byzantine and Roman schools of art. But the artistic genius of the Celtic mind improved upon the models.²

The external history of the mediæval Irish Church has not much of interest. The Norwegian invasions began in 795, and the Danes came in 851. Everything was disorganized. The Irish monasteries were plundered, and the clergy were slain. At length, however, the invaders settled down, intermarried, and became one of the best elements of the Irish race. The Danes founded both the kingdom and the see of Dublin. Down to the middle of the eleventh century the Irish Church had been organized after its own fashion. There was no diocesan episcopacy, and the clergy went on in supreme disregard of the pope. We owe to the Danish kingdom of Dublin the entering of the Roman wedge. When De Rossi was digging in Rome he came across a collection of Anglo-Saxon and Danish coins of the tenth and eleventh centuries. They had been sent as the first fruits of Peter's pence. Among them were the coins of Alfred, Althelstan, and Sitric, the Danish king of Dublin. Sitric in his travels had seen the magnificent fabrics of the Roman Church, and he determined to bring his kingdom into cosmopolitan fellowship. In 1040 he founded a bishopric in Dublin, but determined to seek consecration for his bishops at the

¹ Stokes, p. 207.

² Joyce, pp. 107, 108; Zimmer, *Irish Element in Mediæval Culture*, p. 50, note; Neill, *Ancient Crosses and Round Towers of Ireland*, Lond., 1853-55; Stokes, *Early Chr. Architecture of Ireland*, Lond., 1878.

hands of Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury. His bishop Dunan was a Celt, for the Danes were too warlike to care for clerical pursuits. Nor could Sitric be content with the small, plain, square, wooden or earthen, or even stone, churches of the Irish, but must have a church such as he had seen on the Continent and in England. Therefore he and his bishop built the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity, commonly called Christ Church Cathedral, which, after many additions and changes, and Roe's magnificent restoration in 1878, still stands one of the most beautiful churches in the world.¹

This was the beginning of the modern Irish Church. The next bishop, Gillpatrick, or Patrick (1038-74), was consecrated by Lanfranc, and in return he completely betrayed the freedom of the see of Dublin. He exacted this oath from the Irishman: "Whoever presides over others ought not to scorn to be subject to others, but rather make it his study to humbly render in God's name to his superiors the obedience which he expects from those placed under him. On this account I, Patrick, elected prelate to govern Dublin, the metropolis of Ireland, do, Reverend Father Lanfranc, Primate of the Britains and Archbishop of the Holy Church of Canterbury, offer to thee this charter of my profession: I promise to obey thee and thy successors in all things pertaining to the Christian religion."² This opened the way for Norman influences, which soon made Dublin, and thence the east of Ireland, thoroughly Norman and Roman. The bishops continued to receive their consecration from Canterbury, and to make their canonical obedience to England. The other Scandinavian towns, like Waterford and Limerick, were also centers of Norman influence. Gilbert, Bishop of the Danes of Limerick, one of the most aggressive and vigorous ecclesiastics of the Middle Ages, hated the Irish ways as intensely as all the Danes and Normans did, and he determined to introduce the Roman system. For this purpose he, as papal legate, held a synod of the bishops and clergy of Ireland, at Rathbrosail, in 1120. At this synod the old monastic system was thrown aside, and Ireland was

NORMAN IN-
FLORENCE.

¹ Dublin possesses two Protestant cathedrals, Christ Church, founded in 1038 or 1040, and St. Patrick's Cathedral, founded in 1190, and restored in 1865 by Benjamin Lee Guinness, at his own cost (£140,000), and under his personal superintendence. Guinness was a member of the largest brewery concern in the world, and if his benefaction was not made under an impulse of justice, that of his son, Sir Edward Cecil Guinness, certainly was when he placed in the hands of trustees in 1889 the immense sum of £250,000 to be spent in providing sanitary dwellings for working-men at a low rate.

² See Ussher, Works, ed. Elrington, iv, 564; Stokes, 310; Lanigan, Eccl. Hist. of Ireland, vol. i, ch. xxiv.

divided into twenty dioceses, of which the ancient see of Armagh was chief. On March 9, 1152, the papalization of Ireland was completed. On that day Cardinal Paparo held the synod of Kells, Ireland was divided into four provinces, and Armagh, Cashel, and Tuam were raised to the rank of archbishoprics. This severed Dublin from Canterbury, while it brought all Ireland under Rome. St. Lawrence O'Toole was the connecting link between the Celtic and the Norman Church. He was Bishop of Dublin, 1162-80, a learned, pious, generous man, a fine type of an ecclesiastic, one of the glories of the Irish Church.

The peaceable conquest of Ireland by Henry II in 1171 may be taken as the end of the mediæval Church in Ireland. For that conquest Henry had obtained full permission from Adrian IV, the only English pope who ever occupied the papal throne. This famous bull has been the subject of so much bitter controversy that we give it here entire :

Bishop Adrian, servant of the servants of God, sends to his dearest son in Christ, the illustrious king of the English, greeting and apostolic benediction. Laudably and profitably enough thy magnificence thinks of extending thy glorious name on earth, and heaping up rewards of eternal felicity in heaven, inasmuch as, like a good Catholic prince, thou dost endeavor to enlarge the bounds of the Church, to declare the truth of the Christian faith to ignorant and barbarous nations, and to extirpate the plants of evil from the field of the Lord. And, in order the better to perform this, thou dost ask the advice and favor of the apostolic see. In which work the more lofty the counsel and the better the guidance by which thou dost proceed, so much more do we trust that, by God's help, thou wilt progress favorably in the same ; for the reason that those things which have taken their rise from ardor of faith and love of religion are accustomed always to come to a good end and termination.

There is, indeed, no doubt, as thy Highness doth also acknowledge, that Ireland and all the islands which Christ the Sun of righteousness has illuminated, and which have received the doctrines of the Christian faith, belong to the jurisdiction of St. Peter and of the holy Roman Church. Wherefore, so much the more willingly do we grant to them that the right faith and the seed grateful to God may be planted in them, the more we perceive, by examining more strictly our conscience, that this will be required by us.

Thou hast signified to us, indeed, most beloved son in Christ, that thou dost desire to enter into the islands of Ireland, in order to subject the people to the laws and to extirpate the vices that have taken root, and that thou art willing to pay an annual pension to St. Peter of one penny from every house, and to preserve the rights of the churches in that land inviolate and entire [that is, not confiscating their revenues]. We, therefore, seconding with the favor it deserves thy pious and laudable desire, and granting a benignant assent to thy petition, are well pleased that, for the restraint of vice, for the correction of morals and the introduction of virtues, and for the advancement of the Christian religion, thou shouldst enter that island and carry out there the things that

THE BULL OF
POPE ADRIAN
IV.

look to the honor of God and to his own salvation. And may the people of that land receive thee with honor and venerate thee as their master; provided always that the rights of the churches remain inviolate and entire, and saving to St. Peter and to the holy Roman Church the annual pension of one penny from each house. If therefore thou dost see fit to complete what thou hast conceived in thy mind, strive to imbue the people with good morals, and bring it to pass, as well through thyself as through those whom thou dost know from their faith, doctrine, and course of life to be fit for such a work, that the Church may be adorned, the Christian religion planted and made to grow, and the things which pertain to the honor of God and to thy salvation be so ordered that thou mayst merit to obtain an abundant and lasting reward from God, and on earth a name glorious through the ages.¹

Some Roman Catholic writers have doubted this letter, first, because it is not found in the papal archives, and, second, because it differs in language from other papal documents of the time. But the Vatican archives have lost many documents through war, carelessness, and plunder. Ussher published several bulls issued on Irish affairs which are not in the Vatican, and the Irish Record Office has published several more. The internal evidence favors the genuineness of the document. Giraldus Cambrensis, who published this bull, had abundant means during his long residence in Rome to satisfy himself as to the authenticity of the document. Besides, the bull is nothing unusual. The Donation of Constantine, which no one thought of doubting in that age, conferred all islands on the pope. Adrian IV was another Hildebrand. He insisted on the emperor Frederick assisting him to mount his horse. He crushed all aspirations for freedom, and he it was who executed Arnold of Brescia. Besides, "pope after pope, legate after legate, even during Henry II's reign, solemnly proclaimed the papal sanction of the Norman conquest of Ireland. Alexander III confirmed Henry's action. The papal legate renewed the confirmation at a public synod in 1177. Numerous bulls extant with ourselves in Alan's Register, the *Crede Mihi*, the *Liber Albus* and *Liber Niger* of Christ Church, and in the documents published by the Vatican itself some twenty years ago, proclaim the same thing."² In fact, Roman Catholic scholars now generally admit the genuineness of the bull. Lingard takes it for granted,³ and Joyce says that Adrian was deceived by the

¹ Henderson, *Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*, pp. 10, 11; Lyttleton, *Life of Henry II*, v, 371; *Leges Sax.*, 319; *New Rymer*, 19; *Cir. Camb. Expurg. Hibernie*, ii, 6.

² Stokes, *Ireland and the Anglo-Norman Church*, Lond., 1889, 2d ed., 1892, p. 43; Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum*, Rome, 1861. For further evidence, see Ussher, *Works*, iv, 546-548, *Church Quar. Rev.* (Lond.), July, 1889, p. 406, and Olden, *The Church of Ireland*, Lond. and N. Y., 1892, pp. 242-246.

³ *Hist. of England*, 6th ed., ii, 90.

misrepresentation of Henry's envoys as to the horrible social and religious condition of Ireland.¹

Henry at once organized the Church and State of Ireland on the English model. A synod at Cashel, in 1172, corrected the Celtic irregularities, regulated the mode of catechizing and baptism, abolished the Irish looseness in regard to marriage, established the Roman table of affinity in that matter, and decreed uniformity of divine worship throughout England and Ireland. And thus the full papal and episcopal constitution was established in Ireland which has remained unchanged to the present day. In sections in the east of Ireland the Celtic Church still survived for centuries, and some of its customs are not yet extinct.² The anglicizing and romanizing of Ireland, with all the evils, nevertheless introduced order. The Celtic Church had no organizing capacity, and the innumerable feuds of the petty princes, which had been the curse of Ireland, now gave way to an established life.

¹ Short Hist. of Ireland to 1608, p. 247, 248. Joyce says that Henry did not care much about the bull, would have invaded Ireland anyway, and did not make it public until 1175 at a synod at Waterford. He says also that the evidence is overwhelming in favor of the bull. Lanigan, an eminently fair R. C. historian, says that "never did there exist a more real or authentic document." Eccl. Hist. of Ireland, iv, 167, note 20.

² See Stokes, Ireland and the Anglo-Norman Church, chap. xv. No historian has ever told the story of a Church with more knowledge and interest than has Stokes related the fortunes of the Irish Church.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE MONKS OF THE EAST.

MONASTICISM is one of the most instructive phases of ecclesiastical history. It represents a powerful historical current, which indeed touched many a land before it mingled itself in Christian history. That eminent Wesleyan missionary and scholar, Robert Spence Hardy, has made us familiar with monastic Buddhism.¹ Some think that Buddhism influenced Christianity in this respect, but of this there is no evidence.² We need not go so far east to find the prelude to Christian monasticism. Egypt, the prolific mother of religions, where the first Christian monks retired from the world, had a well-defined system of monasticism. Serapis was worshiped by a group of monks living in the Serapeum.³

It would be very natural for this ancient institution to make an impression upon the Egyptian Christians. The Essenes were a Jewish monastic club, who carried out the strict rules of Talmudical Pharisaism to the letter. They prove how congenial to the Jewish spirit was the ascetic ideal. The Therapeutæ were the more contemplative and pious of the Hellenistic Jews who in or near Alexandria lived a common life in abstinence and religious exercises, and were scattered all over the empire, although not living, except in Alexandria, in a brotherhood.⁴ Similar ascetic associations sug-

¹ Eastern Monachism, Lond., 1850; new ed., 1864.

² Much has been said lately about the debt of early Christianity to Buddhism, but there is absolutely no evidence whatever of any contact between the two systems. It is thought that Buddhism spread as far as Parthia, but the earliest Armenian monasticism presents no resemblance to it. See Hatch, Organization of the Early Christian Churches, p. 158, note 42. Hilgenfeld, in Zeitschrift für wissenschaftl. Theol., xxi (1878), 147 ff., is one of those who lay great stress on Buddhist influence.

³ For a full reference to authorities see Hatch, p. 157, note 38.

⁴ Lucius, Die Therapeuten, Straassb., 1879, has tried to prove that Philo's *De Vita Contemplativa* was a Christian forgery of about A. D. 300, and that the Therapeutæ were really Christian monks, it being the intention of the writer to recommend monasticism to both Jews and Christians by a name whom both revered—Philo. This view has gained wide acceptance, and has even been received by some as now beyond dispute; e. g., Hilgenfeld, in Zeits. f. wissenschaftl. Theologie, xxiii (1880), 423 ff., transl. by A. G. Langley, in Baptist Rev., Jan., 1882, p. 36 ff.; McGiffert, Eusebius, p. 177, note 2; Schürer, Theol. Literaturzeitung, 1880, No. 5; Ohle, Jahrb. f. Prot. Theol., 1887; and Jost, Gesch. des Ju-

gested themselves to the Christians. The whole Orient, in fact, was full of such suggestions.

But no great movement springs from external promptings alone. It must follow an impulse of its own life. Christianity had principles which, if perverted or exaggerated, would readily lead to monasticism. The strenuous endeavor after perfection; the bodily mortification which may be used as a discipline of the soul; and the surrender of earthly ties in times of emergency, could be readily used to lend sanction to the ascetic life. Then, the heavy taxation, the disordered condition of society, the crimes and outrages of a cruel court, the persecutions, the suspense, the uncertainty, the supposed impending judgments of God and the coming of the Lord, all served as causes of the rise of monasticism and of its rapid growth. The desire of holiness and the revulsion from the sins of society prompted many. In the seething unrest of the world the desire for solitude led many a noble soul to seek peace far from the maddening crowd. The whole Montanist movement represented an aspect of Christianity which was not far removed from the finer impulses to monasticism.¹ Then the old subtle antichrist of Gnosticism, the antithesis between mind and matter, between the flesh and the spirit, though conquered by the Church after a hard battle, was not entirely driven out. As Harnack says, it was an enemy which "may be slain, but never destroyed. It even found its secret allies in many recognized theologians who united dualism in subtle manner with belief in God, the Almighty Creator. Under the most varied masks and shapes it has appeared ever and anon in the history of Christianity, though it has been compelled to disguise itself."² Gnosticism was the natural mother of monasticism.

denthums u. seiner Secten, i, 214, also H. 2, 3, 1888, II. 2. The older view of Grätz, *Gesch. der Juden*, iii, 549, refers the *De Vita* to a Christian source. Others, as Nicolas, Derenbourg, Kuenen, ascribe it to a Jew, but to one later than Philo. On the other hand, Edersheim, art. Philo, in Smith and Wace, and in *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*, vol. i, and appendix; Massebienn, *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, xvi, Nos. 2 and 3; and Conybeare, ed. *De Vita Cont.*, Lond., 1895, defend the Philonic authorship. In spite of the weight of names who have followed the lead of the young Alsatian, Lucius, there seems no sufficient reason to believe that Eusebius, H. E., ii, 17, was mistaken in ascribing the work to Philo. "The women that are with them were called Therapeutrides"—a description which was not true of Christian monasticism at the end of the third century. Several other points are also wide of the mark.

¹ Harnack, *Das Monchthum, seine Ideale und seine Geschichte*, Giessen, 1881, 3d ed., 1886. Transl. by C. R. Gillett, N. Y., 1895, reprinted from *Chr. Lit.*, Nov., Dec., 1894, Jan., 1895.

² In *Chr. Lit.*, Nov., 1894, p. 11.

It is interesting to notice the reasons alleged by the monks and their apologists for their retirement from the world. Antony, one of the first of the monks, pondered over the fact that the apostles left all and followed the Saviour, and over the advice to the rich man, "Sell all that thou hast and give to the poor," and resolved to divest himself of all property and devote himself to self-perfection by the solitary life. It was his method of attaining Christian perfection.¹ The feeling of Chrysostom was similar. He was a monk himself at one time, and in several of his treatises he speaks of this mode of life. He says it was absolutely necessary to flee from the cities to preserve one's self from contamination. The blame should fall, not to those who escaped from the city, but to those who made life there intolerable to virtuous men. Only in retirement could pious aspirations find encouragement and the soul be left free to cultivate the heavenly life. There the "true philosophy" could be uninterruptedly studied. According to Chrysostom monasticism is necessary for piety, at least in the present depraved condition of the world.² "What then is more blessed," says Basil, "than to imitate in earth the concert of the angels; than to haste to prayer at the very dawn of day, and to honor the Creator with hymns and songs; then when the sun shines clearly, turning to work in which prayer is ever present, to spice our labors with hymns as with salt?" Their study of Scripture was supposed to be fruitful and undisturbed. Augustine idealized the monastic life as the most perfect possible, and in his comments on Psalm cxxxiii (Lat. cxxxii) he speaks of the first verse of this beautiful lyric as a sound from God for the monks to come together: "For these same words of the Psalter, this sweet sound, that honeyed melody, as well of the mind as of the hymn, did even beget the monasteries. By this sound were stirred up the brethren who longed to dwell together." He calls this the "summons of God, the summons of the Holy Spirit."³ The fact that this is perfectly fanciful is not to the point. His exposition of Psalm xxxvii (Lat. xxxvi), though it does not treat monasticism directly, yet so influenced St. Fulgentius toward the religious life that he renounced the world and assumed the vows.⁴ In fact, after the rise of monasticism any conception of a true Christian life in the world seemed absolutely impossible.

In his long and famous letter to Eustochium, written in 384, Jerome describes the early monks. It is interesting to hear this

REASONS FOR
THE MONASTIC
LIFE GIVEN BY
FAMOUS
MONKS.

¹ Athan., *Vita S. Ant.*, 2-4. On genuineness of this see below, p. 685, note 2.

² Adv. Oppug. *Vite Mon.*, *passim*.

³ Works, vol. viii, p. 622 (ed. Christian Literature Co.).

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

contemporary account: "There are in Egypt three classes of monks, the cenobites,¹ or men living in a community;² the anchorites,³ who live in the desert; and the Remoboth, a very inferior type peculiar to my own province (Pannonia). These last live together in twos and threes, and do exactly as they choose. In most cases they reside in cities and strongholds; and, as though it were their workmanship which is holy, and not their life, all they sell is extremely dear. They compete in fasting; they make what should be a private concern an occasion for a triumph. In everything they study effect; their sleeves are loose, their boots bulge, their garb is of the coarsest. They are always sneering at the clergy. When a holiday comes they make themselves sick by eating too much." The first principle of the cenobites is to obey superiors. They are divided into bodies of tens and of a hundred, so that each tenth man has authority over nine others, while the hundredth has ten of these officers under him. They live apart in separate cells. No monk may visit another before three o'clock, except the deans⁴ above mentioned, whose office it is to comfort those whose thoughts disquiet them. After three o'clock they meet to sing psalms and read the Scriptures. When the prayers are ended one called the father begins to expound the portion of the day. Silent tears roll down their cheeks, but not a sob escapes their lips. After the meeting each company of ten goes with its father to its own table. No noise is made over the food; no one talks while eating. Bread, pulse, and greens form their fare; the only seasoning is salt. When the meal is over they all rise together, and after singing a hymn return to their dwellings. Each man keeps vigil in his own chamber. Each day has its allotted task. Every Lord's day they spend their whole time in prayer and reading. Every day they learn by heart a portion of Scripture. They keep the same fasts all the year round, but in Lent they are allowed to live more strictly. After Whitsuntide they exchange their evening meal for a midday one, both to satisfy the tradition of the Church and to avoid overloading their stomachs with a double supply of food. Jerome concludes his description by saying that: "A similar description is given of the Essenes by Philo, Plato's imitator; also by Josephus, the Greek Livy, in his narrative of the Jewish captivity."⁵

The first hermit of whom we have record is Paul, a native of the Lower Thebaid, who in the Decian persecution (249-258) fled to

¹ *κοινὸς βίος*, a common life.

² From *ἀναχωρεῖν*, to withdraw.

³ Jer., Ep. xxii, 34, 35.

⁴ In commune viventos.

⁵ Decani, "leaders of ten."

the desert, where he established himself in a cavern by a palm tree and a spring of water. Here he remained until his death, which, according to Jerome, was in his one hundred and thirteenth year.¹ His chief successor was Anthony, who fixed his dwelling first in a tomb, and then in a ruined fort near the Nile, where he remained for twenty years. He left this place of retirement in 311, to encourage the Christians of Alexandria during the persecution of Maximin. His last residence was in a small grove of date palms, near the Red Sea, at Mount Kolzim. In 335 he left his grove at the request of Athanasius to preach against the Arians. "His fame," says Littledale, "drew not only frequent visitors to his cell, but numerous disciples and imitators around him, attracted not alone by his pious austerities, but by his cheerful and courteous manners and shrewd practical judgment. He made the solitary life honorable and popular, fully justifying Jerome's phrase in comparing him with Paul, *Hujus vitæ auctor Paulus, illustrator etiam Antonius.*"² At his death, in 365, aged one hundred and five, the desert was thronged with hermitages, so prepared was the soil for monasticism.

¹ See his life in Jerome, pp. 299 ff. (Chr. Lit. ed.).

² Art. Monachism, in *Encyc. Brit.*, 9th ed. His life has been written by Athanasius, and has occasioned great controversy. After a study of the evidence we are convinced that there is no sufficient reason for denying this work to Athanasius. On the contrary, as Principal Robertson says, there is no work of Athanasius which has so great weight of external proof in its favor. And, although there are internal difficulties, there are none which cannot be reasonably explained. In fact, nearly all the objections arise from *a priori* prepossessions of what a work by Athanasius should contain. The attack was led by the first Protestant historians, the Magdeburg centuriators, Rivet, Basnage, and has been continued by Weingarten, *Ursprung des Mönchtums*, Gotha, 1877, and in Herzog and Plitt; Gass in *Zeitsch. für Kirchengesch.*, ii, 274; Gwatkin, *Studies in Arianism*, pp. 98-103; Farrar, *Lives of the Fathers*, i, 335, note 4, and *Contemp. Rev.*, Nov., 1887; Kurtz, § 44, i. On the other hand, Keim, *Ans dem Urchristenthum*, pp. 207 ff., and Hilgenfeld, in *Zeitsch. f. wiss. Theol.*, 1878, place the book in the lifetime of Athanasius without deciding positively for the Athanasian authorship, while Noël Alex.; Montfaucon, in various places in ed. of Athanasius, who critically sifted the whole question; Cave, *Hist. Lit.*, i, 193; Tillemont, *Mém.*, vii; Hase, *Jahrb. f. Prot. Theol.*, 1880; Harnack in *Theol. Literaturz.*, xi, 391; Meller, *Church Hist.*, i, 256; Bright, in *Smith and Wace*, i, 161; Eichhorn, *Athanasii de vita ascetica testimonia*, Halle, 1886, a most convincing discussion; and Robertson, ed. Athanasius, in Schaff and Wace, *Post-Nicene Library*, iv, 188-193, who gives a fine summary of the evidence on both sides, agree in upholding Evagrius, Jerome, Ephrem Syrus and other contemporary and ancient authors in assigning the book to Athanasius. An excellent handy ed. of Greek text is that by Maunoury, Paris, 1887, with French notes.

The man who first organized the new departure, and brought it under rules was Pachomius, who established himself at PACHOMIUS. Tabennæ, an island in the Nile, between Farshoot and Denderah. His rules were substantially those indicated in Jerome's picture of the cenobitic life. A number of cells clustered around each other were called a *laura*. Handicrafts were introduced. A community of nuns was founded by the sister of Pachomius, and at his death, 348 or after, he had no fewer than fourteen hundred monks in his own cenobium and seven thousand under his authority. Similar unions were established by Ammon in the Nitrian mountains and by Maccarius in the Scetic desert. Basil the Great and Gregory Nazianzen with great enthusiasm introduced the monastic life into Cappadocia and Pontus, and very soon it was spread throughout the Eastern world.

There were not wanting, however, voices lifted against the monasticism. These came from two sources. First, there were those who heartily responded to the new ideal, but who were too candid and far-seeing not to appreciate what Wordsworth has said in our own times:

"They who from willful disesteem of life
Affront the eye of solitude, shall find
That her mild nature can be terrible."

Augustine speaks of the terrible revulsion of feeling of some when admitted to monasteries, and finding the same vices and crimes as in the outside world. He compares the retired life to a harbor which must be open on one side to the sea, and VOICES AGAINST THE CLOISTER. "on this open side the wind rushes in, and, where there are no rocks, ships dashed together shatter one another." There is safely nowhere, he says, until we enter heaven, "when the gates are shut and the bars of the gates of Jerusalem made fast." He speaks of the novice entering the monastery and saying impatiently, "I thought that love was here," and leaving in disgust.¹ In a powerfully dramatic passage Jerome describes his own bitter temptations in the desert: "I, then, who for fear of hell had condemned myself to such a prison, a comrade only of scorpions and wild beasts, was in imagination among dances of girls." "I used to dread my very cell; as though it knew my thoughts, and, stern and angry with myself, I used to make my way alone into the desert."² He describes monks whose renunciation of the world consisted in a change of clothe and a verbal profession. He speaks of their extravagance, pride, and avarice.³ He says: "The depth of forests, the summits of hills, make not a man blessed, if he have

¹ Com. on Psa. c.

² Ep. xxii (Fremantle ed., p. 25).

³ Ep. cxxv, 16.

not with him a solitude of the mind, a Sabbath of the heart, a calm of conscience, and inward aspirations. Without these all solitude is attended by listless despair, vainglory, and perilous storms of temptations."

Another class who protested against the rage for monasticism were those who seemed to have little faith in it, and believed it was at best a perversion of Christianity. PROTEST OF
VIGILANTIUS. Among these was Vigilantius, a presbyter of Barcelona at the opening of the fifth century, who had formerly been associated with Jerome at Bethlehem. He was a Protestant of his day. In a book which is unfortunately lost he called the Church back to a more spiritual religion. He protested especially, first, against the reverence paid the relics of holy men by carrying them around the Church in costly vessels or silken wrappings to be kissed, and the prayers offered to the dead; second, the late watchings at the basilicas of martyrs, with their attendant scandals, the burning of numerous tapers, and the alleged miracles; third, the sending of alms to Jerusalem, which, he urged, had better be spent among the poor in each locality; fourth, the monkish vow of poverty; and, fifth, the exaggerated estimate of virginity.¹ His book enraged Jerome, who could not endure its calm reasoning. His reply is the weakest and most violent of all Jerome's books, although its vigorous language and spleen make it bright reading. One point made by Vigilantius was that monasticism is cowardice—the running away from the battle. This Jerome admits. But the odds are too heavy in the world. "I fly that I may not be overcome." "There can be no doubt," says Zöckler, "that Jerome wrote no treatise which, both as to the matters which he defended, and, as to its tone of hatred and passion, was more unworthy of him than this immoderately vehement apology for a superstitious idolizing of the creature and a ceremonial sanctity, against a man who at least in the main was striving to uphold the standpoint of pure evangelical truth."² Jovinianus, though himself a blameless monk, put forth a treatise to check the monastic development. He asserted that in the sight of God a virgin is no better as such than a wife, and that abstinence is no better than a thankful partaking of food. These were thoroughly radical views, and enough to eradicate monasticism. Jerome replied in a long treatise. No doubt these protests met the

¹ Ivo de Chartres, Ep. cxvii.

² Fremantle, ed. Jerome, p. 417, and in Smith and Wace, ix, 1142.

³ Hieronymus, Gotha, 1865, p. 310. Justice has been done to the fame of Vigilantius by Gilly, Canon of Durham, Vigilantius and His Times, Lond., 1844, an accurate and careful study of the Christianity of the fourth century.

approval of many whose names have not come down to us. We know that Vigilantius was supported by his own bishop, and was not accounted a heretic in his day.

There was, indeed, reason for these counter voices. The cruelty, debauchery, avarice, pride, anger, and filthiness of the monks were incontestable. The fifth of the Conferences of Cassian, one of the great authorities on monasticism, is occupied with a treatment of these and other faults of the monks.¹ Melancholy and dark despair also seized upon them. "This anxiety of heart," says Cassian, "which they call by the Greek name *acedia*, was considered by the poor hermits to be the 'demon that walketh in the noonday,' of David's Psalms. It made them callous and apathetic,

THE EVILS OF
THE MONASTIC
LIFE.

filling them with contempt for their brethren, horror of their abode, and disgust for their cell.² It paralyzed their souls with despair about themselves, their duty, and their choice of life. It is the dreadful reaction of a nature occupied with alternate self-conceit and self-disgust, resulting from conditions which God never intended for our human life."³ Insanity, imagining monsters, hideous sounds, and hypochondria were attendants of the ascetic life. Cassian tells us that terrible crimes were committed under the influence of demoniac delusions, the poor victims thinking that they were performing heroic acts of virtue. Many ended their career in suicide—sometimes in horrible forms, and the heathen taunted them with being self-murderers.⁴ Amélineau, who has gone into the early Egyptian monasticism with great thoroughness, says that the monks were "at heart far from true virtue. The great majority of them were simple *fellahin*, without education, or artisans of a low class; all were of nature rude, gross, and of violent passions." The Coptic accounts are full of details of their licentiousness and brutality. They even descended to the depths of sodomy; and insubordination, abortion, and infanticide were frequent. In fact, Amélineau thinks that the conversion in Egypt was chiefly in name.⁵

From such a hotbed of fanaticisms it was inevitable that many strange and sporadic products should spring. The Eustathianists,

¹ Cassian, Coll., 5 (Chr. Lit. ed., pp. 339-351).

² *Ibid.*, De Inst. Mon., x.

³ Farrar, Lives of the Fathers, ii, 165.

⁴ Farrar, *Ibid.*, ii, 166, 167. On the suicide of the monks, see Nilus, Ep. 140; Pachom., Vita, 61; Ambrose, De Virginitas ad Marcellinam, iii; Greg. Naz., Carm., xlvii, 100, ff.; Zückler, Krit. Geschichte der Askese, Frankf., 1863, p. 220.

⁵ Étude historique sur St. Pachome et le cénobitisme primitif dans la Haute Égypte, d'après les monuments Coptes, Paris, 1887. See H. M. Scott, in Cur. Disc., vi, 192-196.

so called from Eustathius, Bishop of Sebaste, carried out their monastic principle to its logical conclusion. They repudiated the Church fasts, ordained their own, the women dressed in men's clothes, servants forsook their masters and wives their husbands to join these monks.¹

The Euchites were another of those extravagant bodies whose teachings were as vicious as themselves. The Abelites, who gained disciples around Hippo, married, but lived in abstinence, increasing their numbers by adopting a boy and girl in each family. The Boskoi or Grazers roved about Mesopotamia and Palestine shelterless and nearly naked, groveling on the earth and browsing like cattle on the herbs.²

FANATICAL RESULTS OF MONASTICISM.

Our modern imagination has been impressed more, perhaps, by the Pillar-saints, whose founder, Simeon Stylites, the genius of Tennyson has immortalized:

"I, Simeon of the pillar, by surname
Stylites, among men; I, Simeon,
The watcher on the column till the end;
I, Simeon, whose brain the sunshine bakes;
I, whose bald brows in silent hours become
Unnaturally hoar with rime, do now
From my high nest of penance here proclaim
That Pontius and Iscariot by my side
Showed like fair seraphs."

Simeon was a Syrian monk, who after several years in monasteries, and after having performed the feat of fasting forty days, ascended a pillar to escape the crowds. The pillar was seventy-two feet high and four feet in diameter. Here he spent thirty years. At night he meditated and slept, and in the day he preached to the people and gave them spiritual advice. He sent letters to Theodosius II, Leo III, and Eudoxia, severely reprimanding them, and his exhortations were often followed. He converted thousands of the Saracens, and Arab and Persian princes came to him for advice. He died at Telamessa, near Antioch, in 459.³ Simeon found many imitators. Alypius spent fifty (some say seventy) years on his pillars, and so late as 1180 Simeon Pulminatus was hurled from a pillar by a thunderbolt. The most heroic pillar-saint was Daniel, who carried out this mode of life for thirty-three years on the shore of the Bosphorus, where he was often almost blown from his pillar by storms, and was for days together covered with snow and ice. The

THE PILLAR-SAINTS.

¹ Soz., H. E., iii, 14.

² Soz., H. E., vi, 33; Evag., H. E., i, 21.

³ Theod., H. E., xxvi; Antonius, in Acta Sanc., Jan., tom. i, p. 261.

emperor at last insisted on placing a covering over the top of the pillar. Daniel died in 494. Monasticism easily lent itself, therefore, to immorality on the one hand and the most frightful extravagances on the other. Nor can we be surprised at the lawlessness of the monks. At their doors lie two black crimes—the murder of Hypatia in Alexandria and of the patriarch Flavian at the Robber Synod of Ephesus. They worried Basil and assailed Chrysostom. They were the terror of the State, and their wild lawlessness forms a dark picture on the page of ecclesiastical history.

Littledale states the case very moderately when he says: "Even when the healthier side of monachism as it appeared in Egypt and Syria is dwelt upon, and the fullest weight is allowed to the contemporary pictures drawn by great Christian writers of the monasteries as schools of a philosophy truer and purer than that of the Porph and of the Academy, as places where the equality and brotherhood, merely dreamed of as unrealizable fancies in the other world, could be seen in living action, where children deserted by their parents or otherwise orphaned were tenderly reared, where the sick were lovingly tended, where calmness, piety, and self-forgetfulness were the rule of all—it must be confessed that the complaint of the government, embodied in the hostile legislation of the emperor Valens in 373, subjecting monks to the conscription (which drew forth an indignant protest from Chrysostom), that monachism was injurious to society and to the healthy condition of civil life by draining off so large a fraction of the population into the backwater of the cloister, was perfectly well founded. And no small part of the overthrow of Christianity in Egypt and Syria by Islam is due to the practical withdrawal of all the devout from family and public life, leaving no spiritual energy to cope with the Koran in the towns and villages whither the conquering Arabs came to settle and proselytize."¹

Eastern monasticism has ever remained that inane, fruitless thing it was in the days of Augustine and Jerome. It neither cultivated lands nor learning, nor preached the Gospel. The most precious literary treasures in the world it has stowed away in the garrets of its monasteries until some Tischendorf or Mrs. Lewis has ferreted them out. What it needed was an organizing spirit, to bring the crowds of idle, vicious, aimless monks into relation to some real work of the world. But in monachism, as in everything else, Rome, doctrinally more corrupt than Constantinople, has had the genius to bring into practical use the wild extravagances of the East, and has therefore conferred infinitely more benefits upon the world.

¹ Art. Monachism, in *Encyc. Brit.*, 9th ed.

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CHAPTER XXXI.

THE MONASTIC ORDERS.

THE intercourse of Athanasius with Italy and Gaul brought the news of the new monastic fervor to the West, and, once introduced, the impulse was resistless. One of the earliest of the Western monks was St. Martin of Tours, who before 360 MARTIN OF
TOURS. lived as a hermit near Genoa, and then settled near Poitiers and founded the first French monastery, that at Ligugé. In 375 he was elected Bishop of Tours, and, although he performed the duties of his bishopric with energy, he lived as a monk, and founded on the bank of the Loire the famous monastery of Marmontier. He did much for the extirpation of paganism, and thus became the type of those great monastic missionaries who are the glory of the mediæval Church. He died in 400.¹ When Augustine came to Milan in 385 he heard the name of St. Antony mentioned as a widely known and eminent saint,² and he adds, "And there was a monastery at Milan, full of good brethren, without the walls of the city, under the fostering care of Ambrose."³

Before 370 Rufinus had lived in a monastery at Aquileia, which is probably the first institution of the kind in the West. It was there that Jerome became imbued with the ascetic feeling, which led him to subject himself to all the torturing excesses of the anchorites in the Syrian Thebaid. He emerged from this wild asceticism by being made a presbyter in Antioch, where he studied the Greek theology. In 382 he returned to Rome, and placed his intellectual equipment at the service of the bishop, Damasus. He became acquainted with many ladies of rank, whom he tried to inflame with love for the ascetic ideal. At the funeral of Blasilla, whose death was supposed to have been hastened by her overstrictness of life, the cry was raised, "To the Tiber with the monks." Jerome returned to the East. But nothing could prevent the rising tide. Augustine says that he saw in Rome various cloisters under the guidance of men of learning and piety, their inmates leading a life

¹ The Confession attributed to him is, according to Weingarten, spurious. His life was written by his pupil, Sulpicius Severus, and will be found in Roberts's ed., *Chr. Lit. Co.*, 1894, pp. 3-17.

² Conf., viii, 6.

³ He refers to this also in *De Mor. Eccl. Cath.*, § 70.

of love, glory, and freedom, and maintaining themselves by their own hands. He also "found many women, especially widows and maidens, living in a common life, occupied with spinning and weaving, instructed in Christian behavior and knowledge by their presidents (women), and, like men, performing extraordinary feats in fasting."¹ The islands west of Italy and south of Gaul became the home of innumerable monks.

One of the most eminent of the first Western monks was Paulinus of Nola (353-431). He came from one of the noblest of the old Roman families in Aquitaine, and was born in Bordeaux. He was the pupil of Ausonius, the poet and rhetorician, and was consul in 379. But he turned aside from all these worldly prospects, and, under the influence of Martin of Tours and Ambrose, became a clergyman, parted from his wife with her consent, was made presbyter of Barcelona in 393, moved to Nola, near Naples, in 394, and about 409 became bishop of that city. In vain Ausonius tried to retain his pupil amid the society and studies that had been so congenial to him. Out of his own means Paulinus built a hospital at Nola, churches at Nola and Faifi, and a great aqueduct at Nola, and bought the freedom of prisoners and relieved debtors. These wide charities brought a vast multitude of beggars, some of whom came from long distances. Paulinus was one of the best examples of that type of Western monks. He was a poet and scholar, interested in works of public improvement, and ever retained a cheerful and loving spirit amid all the squalor and selfishness of his time.²

John Cassian was thoroughly acquainted with Eastern monachism, founded a monastery in Gaul, and was the first to lay a literary basis for the institution.³ His books are of great value in understanding the spirit of the early monasticism. His own monastery at Marseilles, and the other foundations of southern Gaul, were centers of spiritual life and light. The most important bishops, like Honoratus, Hilary, and Lupus, came from them. It was left, however, to Benedict of Nursia to be the first to bring the many monastic institutions under one Rule, and unite them for spiritual and missionary purposes.

Benedict was born in 480 at Nursia, in the duchy of Spoleto.

¹ Do Mor. Eccl. Cath., 70, 71, A. D. 388; Möller, Ch. Hist., i, 386.

² His writings are in Migne, and his Life has been written by Buse, Rome, 1856, and Lagrange, Paris, 1877, Germ. transl., 1892.

³ See his works in Migne, and in Post-Nicene Fathers, ed. by Gibson, N. Y., 1894, with valuable Prolegomena. An excellent abstract in Möller, Ch. Hist., i, 368-371.

He was sent as a boy to be educated in Rome, but, shocked by the immorality he saw there, he fled to a cave near Subiaco, which is still pointed out to travelers, not far from the site of Nero's villa of Sublaqueum. Here he was wont, like St. Jerome, to subdue his passions by rolling his naked body among the thorns and rocks. The fame of his sanctity soon spread abroad, and his solitude was invaded. A neighboring convent of monks chose him for their head, but they could not endure his severities. They attempted to poison him, but the cup broke in his hands, and, after reproving their wickedness, he retired to his cave. Little companies of monks grew up around his retreat and placed themselves under his direction. He thus became, without wishing it, the spiritual director of multitudes. It was probably about 539 that he moved his disciples to Monte Cassino, in order to free himself from the machinations of a dissolute priest. On the top of this mountain was an ancient temple of Apollo, the center of worship by the ignorant peasants. Benedict converted them, destroyed the temple, cut down the grove, BENEDICT OF
MONT-CASSINO. built a monastery, and thus "arose that great model republic, which gave its laws to almost the whole of Western monasticism."¹ On the summit of a mountain, still inaccessible to carriages, overlooking the peaceful Liris ("taciturnus annis"),² and with the wild crags of Abruzzi as a background, he reared his foundation, and installed his monks within the very walls of the sun god's temple. Here for at least twelve years he presided over his followers and composed his famous Rule in the same year in which Justinian promulgated his Code. Here he confronted the ferocious Totila (542) at the head of his victorious Ostrogoths, and here he would console himself at rare intervals with interviews with his sister, Scholastica, herself a recluse near by. He died about 543.³

¹ Milman, *Lat. Christianity*, ii, 30.

² Hor., *Carm.*, i, 31, 8,

Non rura, quæ Liris quæta

Mordet aqua, taciturnus annis.

³ For the Life of Benedict see Gregory the Great, *Dial.* ii, in Migne, lxxvi; Mabillon, *Acta Sanctorum O. S. B.*, *Sæc.* i; *Acta Sanct.*, Bolland., 21 Mar., iii; I. G. Smith, art. in Smith and Wace.

"Through mists of years behold him yet!

The garb severe, the aspect meek,

Serene yet firmly set,

And lips that seem to speak,

With power to draw heaven's lightning down,

And stay or raise the tempest's rain.

So kings doff robe or crown,

Won o'er to swell his train."

Benedict of Nursia is one of the central figures of mediæval history. With subtle insight into human nature, with mild firmness, and with large views, he humanized monasticism, and brought it into living relations with Christian progress and civilization. Compared with all other monastic rules the Benedictine is noted for its mildness and evangelical tone. His Rule abounds in Scripture, in one place alone quoting seventy passages. It insists on manual labor, and gives due honor to study. Thus it has been that of all the orders of monks the Benedictine has had the most honorable history, not chargeable with the bloodguiltiness of the Dominicans, the craft of the Jesuits, or the fanaticism of the Beggar Friars. Let us look at the three aspects of the order—piety, labor, study.

Parts of the Rule of Benedict might be read as a devotional practice. Of prayer he says: "We should supplicate with all devotion and purity God, who is Lord of all. And RULE OF BENE-
DICT. let us know that we are heard, not for much speaking, but for purity of heart and compunction of tears. And therefore prayer ought to be brief and pure, unless, perchance, it be prolonged by the influence of the inspiration of the divine grace. When assembled together, then, let the prayer be altogether brief; and, the sign being given by the prior, let all rise together."¹ The Psalms were a great favorite of Benedict, as of many of the mediæval saints. Every week they were to be said or sung throughout. After speaking of the order or arrangement of the Psalter, Benedict says: "If this distribution of psalms be not pleasing to anyone he shall arrange it otherwise if he think best, provided he sees to it under all circumstances that every week the entire Psalter, to the number of one hundred and fifty psalms, is said. And at Sunday at vigils it shall always begin anew. For those monks show a too scanty proof of their devotion who during the course of a week sing less than the Psalter with its customary canticles, inasmuch as we read that our holy Fathers in one day rigidly fulfilled that which we—lukewarm as we are—might perform in an entire week."²

The psalms were to be read or sung antiphonally or in unison. "Books, moreover, of the Old and New Testament of divine authority shall be read at the vigils; but also expositions of them which have been made by the most celebrated orthodox teachers and Catholic Fathers."³ The brothers must learn how to be silent,

¹ Rule of St. Benedict, § 20. This Rule is found in Migne, lxxvi, cols. 215 ff. It is translated in Henderson's invaluable collection, *Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*, Lond., 1892, pp. 274 ff. ² *Ibid.*, § 18. ³ *Ibid.*, § 9.

and, of course, all "idle words and those exciting laughter we condemn in all places with a lasting prohibition; nor do we permit a disciple to open his mouth for such sayings."¹ Before others the monk must be with "head inclined, his looks fixed upon the ground, remembering every hour that he is guilty of his sins. Let him think that he is already being presented before the tremendous judgment of God, saying always to himself in his heart what that publican of the gospel, fixing his eyes on the earth, said, 'Lord, I am not worthy, I, a sinner, so much as to lift up mine eyes unto heaven.'"² We may well believe that Thomas Aquinas studied this Rule as a manual of morality. Holiness, love, Christ—these were exalted above all. "As there is an evil zeal of bitterness which separates from God and leads to hell, so there is a good zeal which separates from vice and leads to God and eternal life. Let the monks therefore exercise this zeal with the most fervent love; let them mutually surpass themselves in honor; let them not patiently tolerate their weakness, whether of body or character; let them vie with each other in showing obedience; let no one pursue what he thinks useful for himself, but rather what he thinks useful for another; let them love the brotherhood with a chaste love; let them fear God; let them love their abbot with a sincere and humble love; let them prefer nothing whatever to Christ who leads us alike to eternal life."³

Benedict believed thoroughly what Carlyle calls the "gospel of work." "Idleness is the enemy of the soul. And therefore to fixed times the brothers ought to be occupied in manual labor."⁴ This wiseregulation was the salvation of monasticism. This made the Benedictine order the pioneer of civilization. The Benedictines were the great road-makers of the Middle Ages. They cleared away the forests, drained, dyked, and filled in the swamps, and reclaimed to fertility valuable lands. They were also the pioneers of agriculture. Theodulf's plow and Dunstan's anvil were far holier relics than decayed rags and pieces of bone. The monks taught the German races how to lay aside the bow and the spear, and how to use the spade and the chisel. In a turbulent and warlike time they were the teachers of the dignity of labor and the fruitful arts of peace. The reclaiming of the river Thames to commerce and history is a notable instance of the triumph of the Benedictines. In barbaric times the Thames was, says Wood, a "mere tidal swamp bounded on either side by ranges of hills, to which the waves reached at high water, and shrinking at low water into a tortuous muddy ditch, with no particular bank, and having

LABOR AMONG
THE BENEDICTINES.

¹ Rule of St. Benedict, § 6. ² *Ibid.*, § 7. ³ *Ibid.*, § 72. ⁴ *Ibid.*, § 48.

on either side an expanse of pestilential mud."¹ This useless and harmful expanse was converted by some directing genius, who engineered one of the most herculean works of history into an artificial river. In doing this he changed the course of history and turned the commercial supremacy of the world into Anglo-Saxon hands. This work was done by the Benedictine monks. Of old their monasteries lined the banks of the Thames. They gave that river to civilization.

But study went hand in hand with labor, the day being divided between these two duties. In the summer labor predominated, and study in the winter. In Lent the study hours were lengthened, and during Sunday all engaged in reading. All books taken from the library must be read entirely through.² Study hours were not to be disturbed by idle brothers wandering aimlessly about. This one rule filled the Benedictine order with artists and writers and scholars. In the scriptorium they copied the manuscripts of antiquity and preserved for us the pagan and Christian classics. Others revised the texts of such works as were held in highest esteem. Charles the Great committed to the Benedictine Alcuin the work of preparing a perfect codex of the Holy Scriptures. The works of Pliny, Sallust, Macrobius, and the Oration of Cicero against Verres have been preserved to us by discovery and copying. The Benedictine Cassiodorus gave rules for the guidance of his brethren in their studies. He had collected, and he enjoins them to read, the Greek and Latin Fathers, the Church historians, the geographers and grammarians whose works were then extant and in repute, with various medical books for the assistance of those monks to whom the care of the infirmary was confided. By this order were laid or preserved the foundations of all the eminent schools of learning of modern Europe.³

¹ In Good Words, 1879; Libr. Mag., ii, 512, ff. These artificial river banks extend from London Bridge seaward below Gravesend. They are nine or ten feet high and thirty wide. "Put all the pyramids together, and they could scarcely supply material for this vast embankment." ² Rule, § 48.

³ Stephen, *The French Benedictines*, in *Essays in Eccl. Biography*, p. 240. The Benedictines were the librarians and scholars of mediæval Europe. In fact, so strenuously did they devote themselves to learning that De Rancé, of the Trappist order, wrote a book in 1683 on the Monastic Life, in which he rebuked the devotion for study of the Benedictines, said that they went beyond the simple Rule of their founder in this, and that it was never the intention of St. Benedict that the brothers should cultivate learning as a chief object of pursuit. Mabillon, the great Benedictine scholar, replied to him in 1691, *Traité des études Monastiques*. He proved that there had been a succession of learned monks almost from the beginning of monasticism, and that on the general principles of religion and reason they were quite right in learning and teach-

The mild Rule of Benedict¹ won the day everywhere. It soon absorbed the Columban Rule, which had hitherto dominated in Europe. In 788 the council of Aix-la-Chapelle ordered the Benedictine Rule only to be observed in the empire of Carl and his son. In the tenth century it held almost universal sway in Europe, including England. Milman says: "In every rich valley, by the side of every clear and deep stream, rose a Benedictine abbey, and usually the most convenient, fertile, and peaceful spot in any part of England will be found to have been the site of one of them."² Most of the cathedrals and many of the parish churches were in Benedictine hands. So strongly were they rooted in the soil that when they were suppressed at the Reformation they resolved to retain all the old titular dignities, in the hope of better days.³ The mitred abbot of Westminster at this day silently contests the right of the Dean of Westminster to his office.

GROWTH OF
THE BENEDIC-
TINES.

In 1880 the Benedictine order celebrated throughout the world the fourteen hundredth anniversary of the birth of its founder. Monte Cassino was the chief center of attraction. The tragic history of that ancient monastery speaks eloquently of the instability of human things. It has been four times destroyed—in 589 by the Lombards, 884 by the Saracens, 1030 by the Normans, and in 1349 by an earthquake. The monastery was dissolved in 1866. A few monks still remain—the solitary tenants of their historic and beetling cliffs.

The legal position of monasticism now needs to be considered. The emperor Valens sought to counteract the monastic enthusiasm by forbidding those who had civil duties from taking the vows. Later the law recognized the monasteries as corporations. In 434 a right to inherit property left by the monks was conceded to the monasteries. In other respects the monks were subject to the civil law, remained in possession of their property and personal and family rights, so far as they had not renounced these, and were in all respects under the obligations of the law. Valentinian III forbade the admission of slaves and colonists to the cloister. At first the monks were not ing as much as they could. But, after all, it is only by a liberal interpretation of the Rule that the learned Mabillon could find sanction for this, as it is evident that none of the monastic legislators ever contemplated the formation of academies of learning and science. Maitland, *The Dark Ages*, 6th ed., 1901, pp. 188-193.

THE LEGAL
POSITION OF
MONASTICISM.

¹ Comparatively speaking; of course there were foolish and arbitrary provisions in it.

² *Hist. of Latin Christianity*, ii, 37.

³ Oxenham, *Studies in Ecclesiastical History and Biography*, p. 92.

bound by any ecclesiastical law to their mode of life, and could leave the cloister at any time. But at the council of Chalcedon this was forbidden. They were not to rove about in the cities—an ordinance often disobeyed—nor were they to leave the monastery to take secular offices. The Benedictines made the monastic vow perpetual. At first there was a sharp distinction between the monks and the clergy. It was considered a return to the world for a monk to assume the clerical office. But this soon passed away. Athanasius lent his influence to the change, and the monasteries soon became nurseries to the ministry. The emperor Arcadius (398) told the bishops to go to the monasteries when they wanted priests. The monks themselves were soon ordained, and stood under the jurisdiction of the bishops. Except in the internal affairs of the monastery, and matters coming naturally under the hand of the abbot, the authority of the bishop was supreme in his diocese.¹

¹ Möller, Church Hist., i, pp. 376, 377.

CHAPTER XXXII.

RISE AND DECLINE OF THE LATER ORDERS.

THE history of monasticism is the record of the perpetual round of corruption and reform. The sane and moderate counsels of Benedict of Nursia left loopholes where the depravity which loves to linger under the shadow of monastic walls might enter. In the latter part of the eighth century arose the "second founder" of monasticism in Europe, Benedict of Aniane. He was born in Languedoc, and his father was Count Aigulfus, cupbearer in the court of Pepin. Like Loyola he was brought up to arms and courtly exercises, and like him a crisis in his life—a narrow escape from drowning¹ while serving in the army of Charles the Great in Italy, in 774—awakened all the slumbering religious elements of his nature. He betook himself to the monastery of St. Seine, in the forest of Burgundy, where his austerities in what he considered the too easy lives of his brother monks made him unpopular. They derided his emaciation and dirty habits. However, his holy life made its impression, and on the death of the abbot the monks elected him as their head. But he declined, returned to his native district, and built a cell on the banks of the Aniane. This was the nucleus of one of the most influential monasteries of the Middle Ages. Monk after monk came around him. In 782 he erected a building to accommodate one thousand monks. To this central house were affiliated numerous cellæ or priories in the surrounding country. On the basis of the Rule of his namesake he began to organize thoroughly his monks, and to instruct them in the Rules. His pupils went forth to found new monasteries and revive decaying ones. Louis gave Benedict authority to regulate all the monasteries in his kingdom. When Louis became emperor he built the famous monasteries of Cornelius Münster, near Aix-la-Chapelle, where he installed Benedict, and where the great reformer continued on a larger scale the work begun at Aniane. There he died in 821.²

Cardinal Newman says that if the badge of St. Dominic is Sci-

¹ In the river Ticino, in a successful attempt to save his brother's life.

² S. Benedicti Anianensis Vita, by Ardo or Smaragdus, one of his pupils, in Mabillon, A. A. O. S. B., Venet., 1733, *sec.* iv, i; I. G. Smith, in Smith and Wace, s. v.

ence, and that of St. Ignatius, Practical Sense, then the symbol or badge of the great founder, St. Benedict of Nursia, is Poetry; and in a fine passage he longs for a Vergil of the monastic life: "He who had so huge a dislike of cities and great houses, and high society, and sumptuous banquets, and the canvass for office, and the hard law, and the noisy lawyer, and the statesman's harangue, he who thought the country proprietor as even too blessed, did he but know his blessedness, and who loved the valley, winding stream, and wood, and the hidden life which they offer, and the deep lessons which they whisper, how could he have illustrated that wonderful union of prayer, penance, toil, and literary work, the true '*otium cum dignitate*,' a fruitful leisure and a meek-hearted dignity, which is exemplified in the Benedictine. That ethereal fire which enabled the prince of Latin poets to take up the sibyl's strain, and to adumbrate the glories of a supernatural future, that serene philosophy which has strewn his poems with sentiments which come home to the heart, that intimate sympathy with the sorrows of human kind and with the action and passion of human nature—how well would they have served to illustrate the patriarchal history and office of the monks in the broad German countries, or the deeds, the words, and the visions of a St. Odilo or a St. Alfred."¹

But the comparatively simple-hearted, free, joyous life of the Nursian reformer was frozen into more minute and rigid regulations by him of Aniane. One historian of monasticism, I. Gregory Smith, compares the latter with Wesley: "In both there was the same methodical austerity, the same determination to regulate even the most trivial minutiae. In all these features Benedict of Aniane is much nearer to John Wesley than to his great namesake, Benedict of Nursia. It is no wonder that at first Benedict was no favorite at court generally. The monks as a class resented his interference with their ease and laxity, the nobles his uncomplaining resistance to their encroachments on monastic property. But the single-mindedness of his aim bore down all opposition, and more than one of the Frankish nobility, attracted by Benedict's teaching and example, renounced the world for a monk's cell and became a munificent benefactor of the order."² There was this difference, however, between Benedict and Wesley: the latter emphasized the immediate relation of every soul to God, and his stern ethical requirements were taken as a matter of course

¹ Historical Sketches, ii, 405, also pp. 366-370.

² Christian Monasticism from the Fourth to the Ninth Centuries, Lond., 1892, and in Smith and Wace, i, 306.

in souls who were filled by divine grace and strength. But Benedict's stiff and drastic regulations, though prescribed with the noblest motives of checking abuses in consequence of too great laxity or vagueness of rule, proved abortive to counteract the inherent evil of monasticism. The regulations rested on a false theory of the Christian life and on the mechanical theology of the Middle Ages. Therefore degeneracy followed reform.

The next restorer of the Benedictine paths was Duke William the Pious of Aquitaine. He founded a new monastery at Clugny, in Burgundy, in 910, and placed the Abbot of Beaume, Count Berno, at its head. The charter of this celebrated monastery is interesting reading. After speaking of his desire to provide for the salvation of his soul by a right use of worldly goods, Duke William says:

"Therefore be it known to all who live in the unity of the faith and who await the mercy of Christ, and to those who shall succeed them and who shall continue to exist until the end of the world, that for the love of God and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, I hand over from my own rule to the holy apostles, Peter and John, the possessions over which I hold sway, the town of Clugny, namely, with the court and demesne manor, and the church in honor of St. Mary, the mother of God, and St. Peter, the prince of the apostles, together with all the things appertaining to it, the villas, the chapels, the serfs of both sexes, the vines, the fields, the meadows, the woods, the waters and their outlets, the mills, the incomes and revenues, what is cultivated and what is not, all in their entirety. . . . I give these things, moreover, with this understanding, that in Clugny a regular monastery shall be constructed in honor of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, and that there the monks shall congregate and live according to the Rule of St. Benedict, and that they shall possess, hold, have, and order these same things unto all time." Prayers and supplications should perpetually be made there, and works of mercy be performed toward the poor and strangers. Every five years the monks should pay ten shillings to the Church of the Apostles at Rome to supply them with lights. "Through God and all his saints, and by the awful day of judgment, I warn and adjure that no one of the secular princes, no count, no bishop whatever, not the pontiff of the aforesaid Roman see, shall invade the property of these servants of God, or alienate it, or diminish it, or exchange it, or give it as a benefice to anyone, or constitute any prelate over them against their will." He then adjures the apostles and the pope to "remove from participation in the holy Church and in eternal life" any in-

DUKE WILLIAM
THE PIOUS OF
AQUITAINE.

vaders or alienators of these possessions. He curses such a disturber with "eternal torture, and lest it seem to human eyes that he pass through the present world with impunity, let him experience in his own body the torments of future damnation, sharing the double disaster with Heliodorus and Antiochus, of whom one, being coerced with sharp blows, scarcely escaped alive; and the other, struck down by the divine will, his members putrefying and swarming with vermin, perished most miserably." "The validity of this deed of gift, endowed with all authority, shall always remain inviolate and unshaken, together with the stipulations subjoined. Done publicly in the city of Bourges. I, William, commanded this act to be made and drawn up and confirmed it with my hand."¹

Berno (910-927) set out with vigorous hand to restore the Benedictine Rule to its full rights, and his successor, Odo (927-941), was a third Benedict in the masterly way in which he reformed the corrupt monasteries of France. THE LATER
PERIOD AT
CLUGNY. The Cluniac rules were finally codified and formed a permanent new departure for the Benedictine monasteries.² At the beginning of the twelfth century there were four hundred and sixty monks in Clugny itself, and three hundred and fourteen monasteries subordinate to it. Three popes were of this order—Gregory VII, Urban II, and Paschal II. Under Majolus (948-994) and Odilo (994-1048) and later, the Cluniac order became an influential factor in the politico-ecclesiastical life of the time. The monks were advocates for papal privileges and for the supreme power of the Church. They stood boldly for ecclesiastical reform, but only in subordination to the pope. Their church at Clugny was one of the most magnificent built during the Middle Ages, ornamented with mural and glass pictures, embroidered tapestries, and abundant furniture of gold and bronze. This famous order steadily declined in discipline and moral tone, and, after a splendid yet troubled and checkered history, the Constituent Assembly of 1790 confiscated the property and sold the church and the buildings to the city. The church was broken down and the monastery was turned into a museum, now called the Hotel de Clugny. How are the mighty fallen! Clugny had been the asylum of kings and the nursery of popes. Its abbot took rank above all others, issued his own coinage, and was a power in politics as well as religion.

¹ Henderson, *Hist. Documents of the Middle Ages*, pp. 329-333; see also p. 270; A. Briel, *Recueil des Chartes de l'Abbaye de Clugny*, Paris, 1876.

² These rules are called the *Consuetudines Cluniacenses*, were first collected in the beginning of the eleventh century, and may be found in D'Achery, *Spicilægium*, vol. i, and Petrus Venerabilis, *Biblioth. Cluniacens.*, p. 1253.

There were two thousand Cluniac houses in Europe in the zenith of the order. The richest library in France was in the Clugny monastery, and for a time that little town on the Grosne contested with Rome the chief place in mediæval Christendom. A road now runs through the nave of its magnificent church. In England, which was a rich pasture for the monks, the Cluniac order had free course. The first monastery was founded at Lewes in 1077, and the connection of England with Clugny remained active and intimate until 1457, when the foreign supremacy was abolished.¹

The Cistercians were another Benedictine revival. Prior Robert, of the monastery of St. Michel de Tonnerre, and after-
THE CISTER-
CIANS.
ward of Molesme in the diocese of Langres, felt the full tide of the ascetic enthusiasm. He desired to reform the monks on stricter principles and bring in the old passion for poverty and Christlikeness. Finally, two years before the opening of the twelfth century, he obtained permission of the papal legate to retire to Cîteaux, near Dijon, where he organized twenty hermits under the strictest observance of the rules of St. Benedict. But no sooner did Cîteaux lift up its head than the Bishop of Langres became jealous and obtained an order from the pope for Robert to return to Molesme, where he died in 1108. His successor, Alberic, determined to make his monastery independent of Molesme. In 1100 Pope Paschalis II placed the monastery of Cîteaux directly under papal authority. Then Alberic issued the *Statuta Monachorum Cisterciensium*, a republication of the rules of St. Benedict intensified and made stricter, and the order at once took its place as the reformed and only true Benedictine order. His successor, Stephen Harding, an Englishman, ruled in the same spirit and stamped upon the order his own austere character. This austerity attracted St. Bernard. Vogel says: "When he and his thirteen friends determined to renounce the world, and devote their lives to the service of God, they entered Cîteaux, and not Clugny. But in St. Bernard asceticism was represented, not as a penance, but as an enthusiasm, not as a cross, but as a glory; and the influence produced by this extraordinary phenomenon was at once instantaneous and overwhelming. Such a number of monks crowded to Cîteaux that within two years after the admission of St. Bernard (in 1113) Abbot Stephen had to found four new monasteries, La Ferté, Pontigny, Clairvaux, and Morimond."²

¹ Sir G. F. Duckett has brought to light many interesting facts about the English houses. Record Evidence of Cluni, 1886, and Charters and Records of Cluni, 1888.

² In Herzog-Plitt, s. v.

The order increased rapidly, especially in France, Spain, and England. By the middle of the thirteenth century it possessed eighteen hundred houses. The members were distinguished from the Cluniacs by their severe rule and more rigid asceticism. They would have no grand churches, no gold or silver crosses. Every kind of display was banished. They also carried on the work of evangelism and agriculture, especially in northeastern Germany. They were harsh churchmen, crushing the heretics, preaching the second crusade, and calling into life the military orders. Their iron entered into the souls of the Cathari, Abelard and Arnold of Brescia.

But with riches and fame and power the grand order of Cîteaux entered upon its inevitable path to decay. By 1250 it had seen its best days. It became corrupt, like all the others, and lost its historical mission. Martin de Vargas in Spain led a reform movement in 1426, which developed into a separate organization in 1469, and in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries separate congregations arose, like the Feuillants and the Trappists. The French Revolution drove them out of France, whence the last remnant was expelled in 1880. The order was killed by the spirit of selfishness which lies at the root of monasticism. Riches, indolence, vice, secularism, while seeming at first far away, came on in due time. They were all the logical result of the monastic principle.¹

¹ There are full materials for a complete history of this remarkable order. Manriquez, *Annales Cistercienses*, 4 vols., Lyons, 1642; P. de Nain, *Essai sur l'hist. de l'Ordre de Cîteaux*, 9 vols., Paris, 1696; Sartorius, *Cistercium*, Prague, 1709; Newman, *The Cistercian Saints of England*, Lond., 1844; *Hist. of the Cistercian Order*, Lond., 1852; Winter, *De Cisterziensier des nordöstl. Deutschlands*, 3 vols., Gotha, 1868; Sharpe, *The Architecture of the Cistercians*, 1874 (the Order were promoters of Gothic architecture); Janaschek, *Origines Cisterciensium*, Vienna, 1877; Giesecke, *Ueber d. Gegensatz der Clunia. u. Cistercienser*, Magd., 1886.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE LESSER ORDERS.

A STRICT and earnest order was that of the Camaldolites. Its founder was Romuald, born at Ravenna in 950. In his twentieth year he entered the monastery of Classe, near Ravenna. THE CAMALDO- LITES. This did not satisfy his hunger for holiness, and he withdrew into solitude. But monks gathered around him, whom he grouped into associations of hermits, and then left them to themselves. In 1018 he formed an establishment at Campus Maldoli—Camaldoli—a lofty place amid the inaccessible heights of the Apennines, near Arezzo. This became the center of this hermit movement, which was an intensification of the Benedictine principle, or rather so nearly a return to the original anchorite idea as could be realized in a monastery. The members lived in separate huts, where they ate and slept. Their common diet was bread and water. After the death of the holy Romuald in 1027 Peter Damiani impressed his strong personality on the order. It spread into other countries, but ran the usual stages of relaxation and decay. In 1782 it was abolished in Austria, and afterward in France and Italy. In 1822 it was restored in Naples. Gregory XVI was a Camaldolite.

Similar was the order of Vallombrosa, founded by John Gualbert in 1038, situated in the romantic valley of the Apennines, fifteen miles from Florence, and celebrated by Ariosto¹ and Milton.² ORDER OF VALLOMBROSA. This order introduced the important change of having a grade of lay brothers to perform the menial work about the house, to secure more time for meditation, prayer, and study on the

¹ Orlando Furioso, cant. 22, st. 36:

"Vallombrosa, così fu nominata una Badia
Ricca e bella nè men religiosa
E cortese a chiun que vi venia."

"To Vallombrosa's fane, an abbey gray,
Rich, fair, nor less religious, and besides
Courteous to whosoever passed that way."

—Transl. of Wm. Stewart Rose, Lond., 1895.

² "Thick as the autumnal leaves that strew the brooks
In Vallombrosa, where th' Etrurian shades,
High overarched, embower."—Paradise Lost, book i.

part of the monks. The present magnificent buildings were erected in 1673. The order was suppressed in 1869. Another Benedictine offshoot was founded at Hirschau, in the diocese of Spire, in 830. Internal dissensions, the avarice of the counts of Calw, and the plague ruined the institution. For half a century the buildings stood empty, until Leo IX in 1049 compelled the counts of Calw to repair the buildings and institute the monks again. Then the great abbot, William Hirschau (1069-91), took hold of the institution, raised it to great renown, and extended the Rule, *Constitutiones Hirsangienses*, over other German monasteries. The Hirschau monks were strict disciplinarians, stern and fierce Romanists, and supporters of the pope in the war of investitures.¹ During the Reformation their monastery was turned into a theological seminary, and in 1692 it was destroyed by the French.²

The order of Grammont has recently been made the subject of a fascinating study from the original documents.³ It was founded by Stephen of Tigerno, son of a count of Auvergne. A number of ascetics gathered around him at his home, whom he formed into a society in 1076, first at Muret, near Limoges, and then at Grammont in Flanders. They acknowledged only the Gospel rule—poverty, humility, and endurance without dispute. They were to possess no lands or churches, receive no money, and were to beg only after fasting several days. The monasteries of the order exercised considerable influence during the Middle Ages, especially the house of Grammont, where the princes of Europe often came together to arbitrate their cause and enjoy the privilege of sanctuary. The order degenerated, disputes often arose on minor questions between the lay and clerical members, and the popes were compelled to interfere in the regulation of its affairs.⁴

The Order of Fontévrault is of especial interest on account of the large scope it gave to the activities of women. Robert of Arbrissel, in Brittany, in the diocese of Rennes, a priest zealous of good works and of reforming zeal, whom Urban II utilized as a preacher

¹ Giesecke, *Die Hirschauner während des Investiturstreites*, Gotha, 1893.

² The old annals of Hirschau were printed at Basle in 1559, and at St. Gall in 1690. The life of the abbot, William, by Kerker, Tüb., 1863, and Helmsdorfer, Göt., 1874.

³ Griffin (late U. S. Consul at Limoges, France), *Grandmont: Stories of an Old Monastery*, N. Y., 1895. This book gives an excellent insight into mediæval ways.

⁴ Gerard, *Vita S. Steph. in Martene and Durrand, Ampliss. Collectio*, vi, 1050; *Hist. Priorum Grandimontens.*, in *ibid.*, pp. 117 ff., 126 ff.

of a crusade, had lived as a hermit as early as 1094. About this time he founded a community of regular canons, out of which grew the abbey De la Roc. His great power as an itinerant preacher, and the overwhelming impression he made especially on women, led to the foundation of the great THE ORDER OF FONTÉVRAUD. monastery at Fontévrard, near Saumur, in Upper Poitou, about 1100. It comprised a male and a female division. The latter was divided into three parts. The first was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and contained three hundred virgins and widows; the second was dedicated to St. Lazarus, containing a hundred and twenty lepers; a third to Magdalene, containing a number of penitents. The whole institution was under the abbess. The separation between the sexes was carefully guarded, and the rules of silence and abstinence from flesh and wine were strict. The order could not receive any parish churches or tithes. At the death of Robert in 1117 it numbered three thousand nuns. This beautiful order of Fontévrard, with its compassionateness and ministries to the out-cast, was suppressed by the French Revolution. The buildings were transformed into a jail, and the last abbess, Charlotte de Par-dailhan, died in poverty in Paris, 1799.¹ An illustration of the sagacity of the founder of Fontévrard is the fact that he provided that every new abbess should be taken from women in the world, as possessing more practical sense and administrative ability than those trained in the cloister.

One of the worthiest of the lesser orders was the Carthusians, in whose school in London the boy John Wesley was educated. Bruno of Cologne became a famous teacher and chancellor of the chapter of Rheims. Becoming disgusted at the vicious life of his archbishop, despairing both of the Church and learning as means of salvation, he retired to a wild cavern near Grenoble. In 1096 he and a few like-minded followers withdrew to Char- THE CARTHUSIANS. treuse, about ten or twelve miles from Grenoble, one of the wildest spots in the whole region, shut in by precipitous rocks and surrounded by sterile mountains. Here they built their huts around an oratory, it being the intention of Bruno to combine anchoritism with cenobitism. In these cells the monks were to dwell together two by two in unbroken silence. In an interesting passage Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Clugny, a contemporary witness, describes the life of the first Carthusians:

“Warned by the negligence and lukewarmness of many of the older monks, they adopted for themselves and their followers

¹ *Règles et constit. de l'Ordre de Fontévr.*, Paris, 1643; Niquet, *Hist. de l'Ordre de Fontévr.*, Paris, 1643; Pressel, in *Herzog-Plitt*, s. v.; Möller, ii, 349.

greater precaution against the artifices of the evil one. As a remedy against pride and vainglory they chose a dress more poor and contemptible than that of any other religious body, so that it is horrible to look upon these garments, so short, scanty, coarse, and dirty are they. In order to cut up avarice by the roots they inclosed around their cells a certain quantity of land, more or less, according to the fertility of the district, and they would not accept a foot of ground beyond that limit if you were to offer them the whole world. For the same motive they limit the quantity of their cattle, oxen, asses, sheep, and goats. And in order that they might have no motive for augmenting their possessions, either of land or animals, they ordained that in every one of their monasteries there should be no more than twelve monks, with their prior, the thirteenth, eighteen lay brothers, and a few paid servants. To mortify the flesh they always wear shirts of the severest kind, and their fasting is well-nigh continuous. They always eat bread of unbolted meal, and take so much water with their wine that it has hardly any flavor of wine left. They never eat meat, whether in health or ill. They never buy fish, but they accept if given to them for charity. They may eat cheese and eggs only on Sundays and Thursdays. On Tuesdays and Saturdays they eat cooked vegetables. On Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays they eat only bread and water. They eat once a day only, save on the day of the octaves of Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, Epiphany, and one or two other solemnities. They live in separate little houses, like the ancient monks of Egypt, and they occupy themselves continually with reading, prayer, and the labor of their hands, especially the writing of books. They recite the prayers for minor canonical hours in their own dwellings, when warned by the bell of the church, but they all assemble in church for matins and vespers. On feast days they eat twice, and sing all the office in the church, and eat in the refectory. They do not say mass save on festivals and Sundays. They boil the vegetables served out to them in their own dwellings, and never drink wine save with their food."

The rigor of this rule, especially as to dress, has been modified. Their Rule was composed by Guigo, fifth prior, about forty-five years after the foundation of the first house of the order at Cheritreuse. The monks were to be shaven six times a year and be bled five times. They were not to receive any charities from usurers and excommunicated persons. They were not to receive money for saying masses, inasmuch as "we have heard that the majority of priests are very ready to say masses, and to make splendid banquets whenever anyone goes to pay them for praying for the dead—all

which destroys abstinence and renders prayers venal, making it depend on the will of whoso gives dinners." The monks were not to wander forth to beg.

The early simplicity could not last. By the middle of the thirteenth century we find a regulation that no Charter-THE LATER
CARTHUSIANS. house should have more than twelve hundred sheep or goats, sixty cows, five fattened oxen, and sixteen stallions. The Carthusians built splendid monasteries and churches. But on the whole the Carthusian monks distinguished themselves by their strict living and beneficence. They still make the boast that they are the only order which has never been reformed. They once possessed one hundred and seventy-two monasteries, of which seventy-five were in France. The latter disappeared during the Revolution, and few have been restored. They had numerous houses in England, of which the chief was near Smithfield, London. This was established in 1371, and abolished by Henry VIII. In 1611 Thomas Sutton purchased the site and what buildings remained, liberally endowed them, and made the place a home for "poor brethren" (bachelor members of the Church of England), a school, and a religious institution. Barrow, Blackstone, Addison, Steele, Wesley, and Thackeray were educated here. In his "Newcomes" the great novelist has immortalized this ancient foundation. In 1872 the Charterhouse school was transferred to Godalming, in Surrey.¹ In 1816 the Carthusian monks were allowed to return to their old home buildings. They swell their income by making various druggists' preparations, and maintain various schools, churches, and hospitals in the neighborhood.²

The Carmelites first came upon the field of history in the account left by Phocas, a Greek monk of Patmos, who visited THE CARMELITES. the Holy Land in 1185. He relates that a monk came to Mount Carmel in obedience to a vision given him by Elijah, and established a monastery there at the so-called Cave of Elijah. The monk was from Calabria, his name was Berthold, and at the time that Phocas wrote he had ten companions. In 1209 these monks received a brief, simple rule of sixteen articles from the Patriarch of Jerusalem. The monks were enjoined to labor much with their hands and to practice silence. At first they dwelt in separate

¹ For full information see Haig Brown, *Charterhouse, Past and Present*, Lond., 1879.

² On the Carthusians see Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres Monastiques*, Paris, 1714-19; Trollope, in *Enc. Brit.*, s. v. For their rule or custom, see Mabillon, *Acta Sanct. Bened.*, sæc. vi, p. ii.

little houses, the church being in the center. When the Saracens conquered Palestine they moved to Cyprus, and thence spread into various parts of western Europe. They entered England in 1210. In 1247 they changed into a mendicant order. Thence their descent was sure. Their chief work was the invention of the scapulary. In 1287 Simon Stock, an English Carmelite, received, as he said, from the Virgin, two stripes of gray cloth to be worn on the breast and back connected with each other on the shoulder (scapula). The Virgin promised Stock to go to purgatory on Saturday evenings and relieve all those who wore it. The scapulary cult proved immediately one of the most popular of the many superstitions of the Roman Catholic Church. It spread far beyond the Carmelite order. Confraternities were formed of people who, under their ordinary dress, wore the gray stripes and devoted themselves to various prayers and ascetic practices in honor of the Virgin Mary.

The device of the scapulary was a happy event for the Carmelites. They leaped into position as one of the most influential of all the orders. Then they made lofty claims. They said they were the oldest order, that they could show an uninterrupted succession of abbots since Elijah, who was their first abbot. The Virgin herself belonged to the order!

These pretentious fables enraged the Jesuits, who, with many faults, have never been lacking in common sense. Their great scholar, Daniel Papebroeck (1628-1714), one of the Bollandists, set himself to work to pull to pieces the Carmelite legends. The controversy became so bitter that in 1698 the pope ordered both parties to keep silence. Schisms at length rent the order. The congregation of Mantua was formed by Thomas Conecte, who in 1433 was burned in Rome for heresy. That remarkable saint, Teresa, formed the Discalceati, or Barefooted Carmelites, about 1562. At one time there were four independent Carmelite generals. In 1880 the Carmelites, one hundred and seventy-six in number, were expelled from France.¹

GROWTH AND
DECAY OF THE
CARMELITES. The Augustinian monks played an important part in the Middle Ages. A few men of spiritual minds gathered around Augustine at Tagaste in 388, and formed themselves

THE AUGUSTIN-
IANS. into a loose monastic brotherhood under the instruction of the great theologian. In the Middle Ages many brotherhoods like the John-Bonites, the Hermits of Tuscany, and the Brittinians, formed themselves on the Augustinian model; that is, they took the rules

¹Helyot, *Hist. des Ordres Monastiques*, 8 vols., Paris, 1714-19; Vogel, in Herzog-Plitt.

as laid down in Augustine's Letter to the nuns,¹ adapted them to their own needs, and modified them by suggestions from the Rule of St. Benedict. These communities were united by a bull of Pope Innocent IV, January 17, 1244, and in 1254 the organization was formally sanctioned. The order spread rapidly. In the beginning of the fifteenth century it numbered forty-two provinces, two thousand monasteries, and thirty thousand monks, and extended even to India. The order became corrupt, and various reforming offshoots sprang up. Luther himself was an Augustinian, and his pious superior, John Staupitz, had a remarkably evangelical conception of the Christian life. Historically, the Augustinians appear under two forms, the Augustinian canons, who were governed loosely, and the Augustinian hermits, who had a more strict rule. The latter came to be one of the mendicant orders, and, with them, proved itself one of the scourges of Europe. In some European countries the order was suppressed after the French Revolution. Although it has been revived it is nevertheless in its dotage. The golden age of monasticism is in the past.² The most important of all the great ascetic movements of the Roman Catholic Church were the Franciscan and Dominican orders.

¹ Ep. 211 : in Schaff, ed. Works, i, 563, ff. They also took the precepts of Augustine in his sermon on the morals of the priests.

² Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vi ; Helyot, rev. ed., iii ; Nicol. Crusenius, *Monasticon Augustinianum*, Monai, 1623 ; Torelli, *Secoli Agostiniani ovvero Hist. generale del s. Ord. Eremitano di san Agostino*, Bol., 1659, 8 vols. ; Migne, *Diet. des Ordres Religieux*, Paris, 1859, tom. iv.

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CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PAPAL AUTOCRACY.

A MOST interesting and important historical development is that of the papal government from the vague and tentative claims of the early bishops of Rome to the absolute monarchy of the eleventh century, when the pope claimed to be the vicegerent of God on earth, by whom kings ruled and princes decreed justice. From the brotherly exhortation of Clement's letter to the Corinthians to the temporal and spiritual sovereignty of the mediæval popes is a far journey. Let us trace the various steps by which the ponderous superstructure of the mediæval papacy was reared on the slender foundation of early times.

Of the causes of this development we must first recognize the influence of the legend of Peter. From his alleged death in Rome, a fact but slenderly attested, there came the legend of his bishopric there. There is not one ante-Nicene authority of weight which alleges that Peter exercised a bishopric in Rome, although several speak of his connection with that city. LITTLEDALE'S ANALYSIS OF PETER IN ROME. Littledale has made of the whole ante-Nicene testimony concerning Peter and Rome a careful analysis. There are nineteen passages; six mention only Peter's martyrdom at Rome; three name the legend of his contest with Simon Magus as the only fact of his Roman sojourn; five speak of Paul in terms of absolute equality with Peter in their relation to Rome but do not define that relation further, while one of these five makes Linus, the first pope, Paul's nominee; one mentions Peter as having been a worker of miracles and preacher in Rome, which is described as his place (*locus Petri*); three say that he ordained Clement as bishop; "while there is only one of these three which plainly states in express terms his having been himself bishop there, and as having appointed Clement as his heir and successor, clothed with all his own authority. But that one is the apocryphal Clementine Homilies, condemned by Pope Gelasius in the Roman council of 490, and ever since rejected by the Roman Church as the forgery of heretics. And even it is preceded only a few lines earlier by the dedication professing to be from Pope Clement to the apostle James: 'Clement to James, the lord and bishop of bishops, who rules Jerusalem, the

holy Church of the Hebrews, and the Churches everywhere excellently founded by the providence of God, with the elders and deacons, and the rest of the brethren, peace be always;’ so that if the authority of the document were satisfactorily proved it would follow that the pope, albeit the successor of St. Peter, was subordinate to the apostle St. James as the head of the Church of the Circumcision, and, in right of his see in Jerusalem, head also of all other Churches throughout the world.”’ But, while this is true, Peter’s relation to Rome dominated the imagination of the early Church and prefaced the way for the final usurpation.

Another element in this growth was the influence of Rome itself. For centuries it had been the eye of the world. It represented absolute rule. It was the Eternal City. As the capital of the Roman republic and of the Roman empire it stood in the thought of men as the center of the world’s gravity, the emporium of nations, the distributing point of all political, intellectual, and religious influences. We cannot understand history unless we remember that, as accounting for historic forces, the imagination has been a mighty cause. There Rome stood on her seven hills—the symbol of eternity and divinity. It was inevitable that the Christian see, established there, would at length take its place as the most prominent of all the Churches. In fact, it was a recognized principle that the ecclesiastical position of cities depended upon their civil position. This comes out clearly in the twenty-eighth canon of the ecumenical council of Chalcedon, 451:

“In all respects following the definitions of the holy Fathers and acknowledging the canon of the one hundred and fifty God-beloved bishops which has just been read, we likewise make the same definition and decree concerning the precedence of the most holy Church of Constantinople or new Rome. For the Fathers with good reason bestowed precedence on the chair of Old Rome, because it was the imperial city (*διὰ τὸ βασιλεύειν τὴν πόλιν ἐκείνην*), and the one hundred and fifty God-beloved bishops, moved by the same view, conferred equal precedence on the most holy throne of New Rome, rightly judging that the city honored with the empire and the senate should enjoy the same precedence as Rome, the old seat of empire, and should be magnified as it was, in ecclesiastical matters also, being second after it.”

¹ The Petrine Claims at the Bar of History; in Church Quar. Rev., April, 1879 (vol. viii), p. 31, reprinted with other articles in Petrine Claims, Lond., 1889. The ablest recent investigation of the historical aspects of the Roman question. See also Bright, The Roman See in the Early Church, Lond. and N. Y., 1896.

The Roman legates refused to sanction this canon; and demanded another session to abrogate it, alleging a forged version of the sixth canon of Nicæa, "The Roman see hath always had the primacy."¹ But the conciliar judges decided that the alleged sentence from Nicæa was an interpolation, and that their canon must stand.

The same principle was recognized in the council of Antioch in 341:

"It is fit that the bishops in every province should know that the bishop presiding in the chief city (metropolis) is to have superintendence of the whole province because all people who have business come together from all quarters to the chief city; for which reason it has seemed good that he should have precedence in honor also, and that the other bishops should do nothing important without him, but only such things as concern each one's diocese and its dependencies, adhering to the ancient rule of our fathers" (canon ix).²

This makes it easy for us to understand the celebrated words of Irenæus, which are made a great deal of by Roman historians. The words exist only in a Latin translation, the Greek original having been lost: "For it is necessary that every Church should come together to this (Roman) Church because of its preferable (or, more powerful) principality."³

The political supremacy of Rome, as the capital of the empire, made it the center of all commerce, the chief resort of travelers from every land, and the most convenient point of departure for all great missionary laborers.⁴ Jerusalem, though consecrated to a world-wide primacy by its sacred memories, was of quite insignificant rank. It had no political standing, especially after Hadrian, and was under the Metropolitan of Casarea, himself under the Patriarch of Constantinople. Alexandria, the second city of the Roman empire, ranked second to Rome ecclesiastically, until displaced by the new capital, Constantinople.⁵ Antioch, the third city of the empire,⁶ was the third see in importance. The fact that it was the mother Church of Asia and Europe, and where Peter himself lived for some time, never could bring it out of the subordinate rank in which it was held by its civil position. Ephesus

¹ This forged sentence was a frequent weapon of the popes in the Middle Ages.

² Comp. Cyprian: "Rome ought to precede Carthage on account of its size." Ep. xlix ad Cornel. Pap.

³ "Ad hanc enim ecclesiam, propter potiorem (al., potentiores) principalem necessesse et omnem convenire ecclesiam."—Adv. Hæc., III, iii, 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. ii.

⁵ See Council of Nicæa, canon vi.

⁶ Josephus, Bell. Jud., iii, 3.

likewise, though honored by the residence of both John and Paul, never rose to high rank.¹ But when both ecclesiastical and civil honors continued to set Rome apart on a pinnacle by itself—the only apostolic see in the West, and the capital of the Roman world—is it any wonder that by slow and steady steps the Roman Church should have attained its almost universal sway?

Besides all this there were also the steadiness and loyalty of the Roman Church under persecution, her benevolent care for the poorer Christians, the executive wisdom, moderation, and, on the whole, though with lamentable exceptions, her catholic orthodox instinct.²

Let us look now at some of the steps of the growth of this religious Caesarism, which, professing to emulate the example of the lowly Nazarene, whose kingdom is not of this world, rose higher and brighter, and reached farther, until it held all Europe in its iron grasp. The Roman bishop Clement (d. 102) addressed a brotherly admonition, not in his own name, but in the name of the Roman Church, to the Church in Corinth. It is a beautiful expostulation, written in fine spirit, exhorting the Corinthians to peace and unity. And yet there is a consciousness of authority arising either from the writer's position in Rome or the conviction of the justice of his cause. This comes out especially in the portions discovered in the library of the Holy Sepulcher at Fanari, in Constantinople, and published by Bryennios in 1875: "If any disobey the word spoken by God through us, let them know that they will entangle themselves in transgression and no small danger, but we shall be clear from this sin."³ The epistle, however, gives evidence that the Roman Church was governed, not by a bishop, but by a college of presbyters.⁴ In his epistle to the Romans Ignatius writes to the Church, and not to the bishop, and knows nothing of any official preeminence of Rome over the universal Church.

A conference was held in Rome during the bishopric of Anicetus (157-168)⁵ over the Easter question. Polycarp of Smyrna tried to persuade Anicetus to adopt the Eastern method, and Anicetus

¹ Little Dale, *ibid.*, p. 9.

² Schaaf, rev. ed., ii, 156.

³ Clem. Rom., Ep. ad Cor., chs. 59, 62, 63. See Lightfoot, Appendix to S. Clement of Rome, Lond., 1877, p. 252; Schaaf, ii, 158; Salmon, in Smith and Wace, i, 553.

⁴ Lange, Geschichte d. römischen Kirche bis zum Pontificate Leo's I, Bonn, 1881, p. 81.

⁵ These are Eusebius's dates. Pearson fixes the dates of Anicetus 142-161, Dodwell, 142-153. See Moberly, in Smith and Wace, i, 116.

labored with Polycarp to bring him to the Western computation. While neither succeeded they both parted the best of friends. Anicetus never alleged any superior authority to decide the matter, but gave to Polycarp the distinction of celebrating the eucharist.¹

But the peaceful spirit of Anicetus by no means dwelt in Victor, Bishop of Rome (189-198, 199).² He had the harsh intolerance of his African blood, and was determined that the Eastern Churches should give way to him, and indicated as much in a letter on Easter observance. Thereupon the Eastern bishops, led by the Bishop of Ephesus, sent him a letter alleging the unbroken apostolic tradition for the quartodeciman celebration, and declaring that they could not change. This enraged the haughty spirit of Victor, and he immediately, as Eusebius says, tried to cut off from the common unity the parishes of Asia as heterodox, and wrote letters declaring the brethren there excommunicated.³ On what he based this command is not known. At all events the East paid no attention to him. On the contrary, several bishops even in the West, including Irenaeus, wrote him, sharply rebuking him for his assumption and for his narrowness in making a test of fellowship a matter of practice which had never before been deemed of great importance.

Under Pope Zephyrinus (199-217) much commotion existed of which the pope was the center, but there was no enlargement of papal power. On the contrary, Tertullian fiercely declaimed against Zephyrinus's relaxation of the disciplinary rules in receiving to the communion penitent adulterers. He also accused him (or Victor) of favoring the Montanist heresy and that of Praxeas.⁴ The powerful Bishop Hippolytus, saint and martyr, accuses Zephyrinus and Callistus, his successor, of high misdemeanors in both the matter of heresy and moral conduct, and reveals a state of moral disorganization and doctrinal laxity in the Roman Church which we could never believe were it not for these writers.⁵ No doubt we must make allowance for the exaggeration of the intensely conservative Hippolytus. Nevertheless, the incident of Hippolytus and Callistus abundantly proves that in the middle of the third century it was entirely safe to disregard the wishes of the Roman see and take it to task for perversion of doctrine and morals.

A remarkable instance of an extension of the Roman claims and

¹ Eusebius, H. E., v, 24.

² These are the dates of Lipsius, Chron. der röm. Bischhöfe. Pagi says, 185-197; others say, 200, 193-202. The chronology of the early popes is involved in impenetrable obscurity.

⁴ Ter., De Pudicitia, i, xxi; Adv. Praxeum, i.

³ Eusebius, H. E., iv, 24.

⁵ Hip., Phil., *passim*.

of their being thwarted from an influential quarter is the case of Stephen (254-257). It arose over the rebaptism of heretics, which the whole African and Asiatic Church insisted on, but which the Roman Church, here with a larger view, forbade. So strenuous did Pope Stephen feel on this that he excommunicated all the African bishops who held with Cyprian, and alleges his own place as the successor of Peter as making obedience to him obligatory on all. He was the first pope to do this. What was the attitude of the African Church? Cyprian was zealous in excessively lauding the Roman Church, spoke of it as the chair of Peter and the root of the Catholic Church. But this tropical rhetoric deceived no one. Beneath it all was the principle of the ancient Church, to which Cyprian held tenaciously, that bishops held equal rank and honor under Christ. His principle he laid down at the council of Carthage: "For not one of us sets himself up as a bishop of bishops, or forces his colleagues to compliance by tyrannical threats; since every bishop has his own liberty and power of action, and can no more be judged by another than he can himself judge." It was this council, consisting of eighty-seven bishops, with many presbyters and deacons, in 256, which utterly refused to take notice of Stephen's excommunication or respect his decrees. In his letter to Pompeius (Ep. 74) Cyprian speaks of the pope's error, his complicity with heretics, his adoption of lies, and his betrayal of truth and faith. So also Firmilian, Bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, in a letter to Cyprian denounces Stephen with many hard words as a virtual apostate and heretic.¹

The Bishop of Rome at the time of the conversion of Constantine, Miltiades (310-314), was made by Constantius one of the four bishops to adjudicate the case of the Donatists. But he did not make nor publish the decision himself, and it depended for its sanction on the emperor, and not on the pope.² In fact, the emperor was often called upon to settle disputes which on the Roman theory belonged solely to the pope.

¹ Cypr., Epp. 68-75. The Ep. of Firmilian was so little to the taste of the partisans of Rome that it was omitted in the ed. of Cyprian, printed by Paul Manutius in Rome in 1563, though it was printed the following year by Morelli in Paris, who, however, was bitterly censured for it. Roman editors were wont thus to deal capriciously with their authorities. Manutius inserted two interpolations of highly colored Roman passages in Cyprian's works, and left out this indisputable letter. See Barmby, in Smith and Waco, iv, 727-730; Littledale, Lack of Prescription for Petrine Claims, in Church Quar. Rev., Jan., 1880, 488-495 (Cyprian).

² Eusebius, H. E., x, 5.

We now come to what might have been an interesting stretch of the papal prerogative—the calling of the council of Nicaea and the presidency over it. This was an excellent opportunity to prove the divine authority of the pope to rule the Church. But Sylvester did not claim primal authority. The council was convened at the command of Constantine alone. None of the early authorities mention the participation of Sylvester. No doubt he, with the bishops, and especially Hosius of Cordova, Constantine's special adviser, was consulted, although Rufinus says that the emperor summoned the council "at the advice of the priests."¹ Second, Constantine opened the council, and was acting president until he voluntarily gave way to the clergy. Third, the actual presidency was held by Hosius, Bishop of Cordova. Hefele, on the strength of the testimony of Gelasius of Cyzicus,² claims that Hosius acted in this capacity as legate of the pope.³ Gelasius, however, is a very inaccurate writer, Hefele himself frequently rejecting him; and, in the most authentic list of the signatures of the council, that discovered by Zoega in an ancient Coptic manuscript, the first signature is: "From Spain, Hosius, of the city of Cordova; I believe this as written above." The second is: "Vito and Innocentius, priests. We have signed for our bishop, who is Bishop of Rome; he believes thus as written above." This proves that Hosius signed for himself, and for no one else, and accords with Eusebius, who says, "The prelate of the imperial city was absent through old age, but his presbyters were present, and filled his place."⁴ Further, the official confirmation of the acts of the council was not sought from the pope, but from the emperor. All conciliar decisions were, indeed, sent to the absent bishops for their ratification, for only thus did these decisions become of practical effect throughout the Church. In this, however, the Roman bishop stood on the same platform with others,

COUNCIL OF
NICEA NOT
ORGANIZED
BY ROME.

¹ H. E., i, 1.

² *Commentarius actorum Concilii Niceni* (Greek and Latin in Mansi ii, 759, ff.).

³ *Conciliengeschichte*, II, ii, 23.

⁴ *Vita Const.*, iii, 7. See an excellent discussion in Littledale as above, pp. 594-599, who also remarks that the fact that the legates of the pope were presbyters, and not bishops, shows that he was not a pope in the modern sense, or he would have sent bishops. This he could not do, for "all bishops, however obscure their sees or their persons," are "for synodal purposes his colleagues and equals in power, though inferior in rank of precedence and general influence, just as the premier duke and the junior baron are each other's peers in the English House of Lords, whatever dissimilarity may exist in their social consideration."

except for the additional weight of his name as the head of the great Latin patriarchate.¹

Pope Julius (337-352) has a special interest in this history. A synod of ninety-seven Eastern bishops which met in Antioch in 341 was equally fierce against Athanasius and Julius. These prelates sent an epistle to Rome, saying that they were fully equal to the Roman Church in all necessary elements of importance, and that

POPE JULIUS. Julius must either receive their decrees or they would have nothing more to do with him.² Over against this, however, was the remarkable action of the council of Sardica, now Sofia, in Bulgaria, in 343. This was a Western synod, and appeared to be under the influence of Julius. The Eastern prelates withdrew, at the beginning, and held a counter-council at Philippopolis. This council enacted that a deposed bishop might refer his case to Julius, who could hear the matter himself, or put it into the hands of neighboring bishops, or send delegates. This was a wide extension of power, and completely upset the plans of previous ecumenical councils. However, the canons were permissive and not mandatory; they were never received by the East, and were purely personal.³ Julius was himself named; the canons referred to bishops who had been deposed by brother bishops; the initiative was taken by them and not by the popes; and they were in the nature of a concession, and not of a divine obligation. So much being said, we must add that some scholars consider these canons spurious.⁴

PRIMACY OF ROME NOT HELD BEFORE MIDDLE OF FOURTH CENTURY. The treatment of Pope Liberius (352-366) by one of the most honored saints of the ancient Church, Hilary of Poitiers, proves that so late as the middle of the fourth century the pope had not succeeded in protecting himself with that divinity which ought to hedge around the vicar of Christ. Liberius had signed the Arian

¹ Littledale gives an instance, that of the sixth General Council (681), where the reception in Spain of the canons waited upon their ratification by the Spanish synods, even after the pope, Leo II, had given his confirmation. *Ch. Quar. Rev.*, viii, 16; ix, 598, 599. Barnby has a fine article on Sylvester in *Smith and Wace*, iv, 673-677.

² See this interesting letter in Sozomen, II. E., iii, 8.

³ This is allowed even by Catholic writers like Dr. Fin and Febronius. See Schaff, iii, 310-315; Littledale, *Ch. Quar. Rev.*, viii, 3, 4.

⁴ Ffoulkes proved their spuriousness in a lengthy paper, and his conclusions were reinforced by Vincenzi. See note by Ffoulkes to Barnby, art. Julius, in *Smith and Wace*, iii, 530. Prof. Vincenzi's book is entitled *De Hebreorum et Christianorum sacra Monarchia*, Rome, 1875. In part ii, c. vii, he elaborately disproves the genuineness of the Sardican canon.

Creed of the second council of Sirmium (358), and anathematized Athanasius. For this Hilary so attacks him, calling him perfidious, a renegade, an apostate—"I say Anathema to thee, Liberius, and to thy accomplices."¹ Even the Duc de Broglie cannot deny the substantial genuineness of this celebrated impeachment, though he thinks the letters of Hilary have been interpolated.²

Under Damasus (366-384) we have the first of a series of secular grants to the papacy, which have fortunately come in to reinforce the religious claims. On account of the riot and murder by which he acquired the papal chair he desired to be made secure from the partisans of Ursicinus. On being appealed to by a synod the emperor Gratian issued an edict requiring all who had been condemned by the pope or by a synod, and who would not submit, to appear in Rome, or to be tried by judges whom the pope would appoint. This seems, however, to have been a temporary expedient, prompted by the disturbed state of the Roman Church, and was not intended to confer permanent privileges on the pope. Later emperors confirmed the old law which forbade appeals to the pope, and Pope Siricius (392), when appealed to against the decision of a synod of Capua, declared himself incompetent to review the matter already decided by competent judges. But there is grave doubt of the genuineness of this supposed Gratian edict. It is not mentioned by any contemporary writer, it never came to light until it was found among the manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Royale in Paris, and was printed for the first time by Baronius, in 1590.³

But the slowly growing autocracy of Rome received a setback in the official career of this same bishop. The second general council was held in 381. This great council, which is of the

¹ Hil., *Op. Hist. Frag.*, vi. The authenticity of the letters of Hilary was not denied until the modern discussion of papal infallibility made them embarrassing to the Ultramontane party. Since then Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, bk. v, § 81, Stillé, *Acta SS. Sept.*, vol. vi, and two or three writers in Rome have tried, though unsuccessfully, to impugn them. On the other hand, Roman scholars like Ceillier, Montfaucon, Constant, Möhler, Dollinger, and Newman unhesitatingly accept them, as did even Baronius. See Barnby, *Liberius*, in Smith and Wace, iii, 721; La Page Renouf, *The Condemnation of Pope Honorius*, Lond., 1868; Cheetham, *Ch. Hist., Early Period*, Lond., 1894, p. 269; and above, pp. 435, 436.

² *L'Eglise et l'Empire Romain au IV^e Siècle*, vol. iii, ch. 4, note.

³ Ep. ad Bonoso Episcopo, in Hardouin, i, 859; Cheetham, *Ch. Hist.*, p. 169. The question cannot be decided positively, but the balance of probability seems against genuineness. See Greenwood, *Cathedra Petri*, vol. i, pp. 239-242, esp. note c. For the documents see appendix to vol. vi of Godefroy, *Cod. Theod.*; Baronius, *Annals*, sub anno 381, § i, 2; Tillemont, *Damase*, 10, 11. Hefele does not even mention these documents.

utmost importance in the history of Christian doctrine, was summoned by the emperor Theodosius alone, and neither was the pope consulted nor the Western bishops invited. To crown all, one whom Rome had excommunicated in favor of a rival bishop was chosen as president of the council, namely, Meletius, Patriarch of Antioch. Besides, this council deposed Alexandria as second in rank among the sees of Christendom, and put Constantinople in its place, and that purely on civil grounds. The acts of the council were confirmed by Theodosius alone. Leo the Great refused to recognize them, and Felix III omitted this council from the list of general councils. Gelasius I also rejected it. "Every one of the marks of authenticity on modern Roman principles is thus wanting to the Constantinopolitan Synod, and yet it is neither rejected, like the councils of Sirmium and Ariminum, nor just allowed to slide into, as it were, and mingle with the general mass of authoritative conciliar matters, like those of Laodicea and Gangra, but it is reckoned now by both East and West as a true ecumenical council, and was confessed as such by Popes Vigilius (537-555), Pelagius II (578-590), and Gregory the Great (590-604)," the last as to the dogmatic, but not the disciplinary canons. The papal rule, therefore, although it rejected this council for nearly two centuries, was not sufficient to hinder it from forcing its way into the highest ranks as a part of the universal heritage of the Roman Catholic Church.¹ The council also enacted that bishops should not go beyond their own borders, and that the synod of each province should administer the affairs of the province. It thus disallowed appeals to Rome. In this it followed the council of Antioch (341), which forbade appeals to be carried further² than the provincial synod assembled under the metropolitan.

A most interesting case of the extension of papal influence, but which met a sudden counteracting force, was that under Popes Zosimus (417, 418), Boniface I (418-422), and Celestine (422-432). Apollinaris was a priest of Mauritania, who had been deposed by his bishop, Arbanus of Sicca, for immorality. The priest appealed to Rome, and Zosimus reinstated him. The pope claimed that he had a right to interfere; on the strength of a Nicene canon. A council of the whole African Church at Carthage (419) answered that the genuine canons of Nicaea knew of no such provision, said they would verify this, and in the meantime enacted a canon forbidding any appeals beyond the sea. Apollinaris again appealed to Celestine, who rehabilitated him. Then a council at

¹ Littledale, in Ch. Quar. Rev., ix, 515, 516.

² περιετέρο.

Carthage, 424, made this peremptory answer: "Apianus was rightly deposed for his crimes, as he has himself at last acknowledged. The pope must not hear complainants who come from Africa to Rome, nor restore those whom we have ex-communicated, as the Nicene canon (can. 5) has ordained. The assumption of an appeal to Rome is a trespass on the rights of the African Church, and what has been brought forward, by Zosimus and his legates, as a Nicene ordinance is not Nicene at all, and is not to be found in the genuine copies of the Nicene acts, which have been received from Constantinople and Alexandria. No one can believe that God will inspire a single individual with justice and deny it to a large number of bishops sitting in council. Do not, then, send any more judges to Africa, lest we should seem to be introducing into Christ's Church the smoky pride of this world."¹

This was plain language, but Augustine signed the paper, and it reflected the unanimous thought of the ancient African Church. The mistake of the pope, not necessarily willful, was in taking one of the Sardican canons as Nicene. The Sardican rules continued to be quoted thus by later popes, and the fact that they were appended to the Nicene in the copy at Rome made the mistake easy.²

¹ Cod. Can. Eccl. Afr., ad fin., Gallandi, *Bibl. Patr.*, ix, 289; Mansi, iii, 829; Gieseler, §94, vol. i, pp. 393, 394 (Smith); Schaff, iii, 291, 295, 312; Greenwood, i, 299-310; Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, ii, 107, ff., 120, 123, f.; Smith and Wace, i, 548; iv, 1224; Littledale, as above, viii, 5, 6.

² Gieseler says that later canons were often cited as Nicene, and gives reference, i, 393, note 60.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE ROMAN AUTOCRACY COMPLETE UNDER INNOCENT AND LEO.

INNOCENT I (402-417) was the first pope to grasp the idea of a universal Christendom united under the Roman see. He was a man of daring energy and ceaseless aggressiveness. Besides, circumstances favored him and his successors. The African Church was broken by the Vandal invasion. The Goths were in Spain and Gaul. The barbarian incursions were emphasizing the need of a center of unity and a rallying point for the disturbed and troubled forces of the Church. The Western empire was on the wane. In 402 it removed its capital to Ravenna, and in 476 it passed away, leaving the mighty traditions of Rome to the popes, the only individuals who seemed worthy to inherit them. With weak men in the empire and strong men in the Church the evolution of the papacy was a necessity.

Innocent replied to a question for further light on some points on discipline from some bishops of Illyria in this stern fashion: "I had previously taken your doubts into consideration, and now I adjudge it to be an insult to the apostolic see that any hesitation should have occurred in a matter referred to and decided by that see, which is the head of all Churches."¹ In writing to the Bishop of Toulouse he says that in all cases of difficulty it is the duty of all Churches to abide by the decision of Rome as the fountain head of genuine tradition. To the Bishop of Gubbio he manufactured the fictitious tradition that Peter and his successors alone founded Churches in all the Gauls, Spain, Africa, Sicily, and the neighboring islands; and said, whatever Rome does, that let Gubbio do. When the African Church sent him the decrees of some of their councils condemning Pelagius they wrote to the pope asking that he, as the representative of the apostolic see, confirm their decision. This request was in accordance with the universal custom by which conciliar decisions were sent around to the great bishops, whose assent was asked not as validating their acts, but as giving universal effect to them. But the pope dexterously turned the request into an opportunity for asserting the largest claim for his see: "You have not thought fit to trample under foot those institutions of the

¹ Hardouin, i, 1015.

Fathers which you, with your priestly office, decreed by them were not of human but of divine will, and that whatever may be done in provinces, however separate and remote, they should not account concluded till it had come to the knowledge of this see, that every righteous finding might be established by its whole authority, and that all other Churches might thence take what they should teach, just as all waters issue from their native fountain."¹

The audacity of this unheard-of claim only equals its falsity. These same Churches had by a unanimous vote re-
 rejected the decree of Stephen of Rome on a question of doctrine and discipline.² Innocent thus appears as the
 real founder of papal monarchy, basing the divine right of Rome to rule all Christendom on St. Peter. He did not dare as yet to assert this claim over the East, because when Chrysostom wrote to him, as a friend and not as a judge, concerning his troubles, the pope made no claim to adjudicate himself, nor did he speak of any universal sway, but recommended an impartial council as the best resort of the persecuted saint.³ Of the African canons of 418 it will be remembered that they met the lofty talk of Innocent with a flat negative. It forbade the carrying of all appeals out of Africa.

FALSITY AND
AUDACITY OF
INNOCENT'S
CLAIM.

Under Celestine (422-432) the third general council was held at Ephesus, in 431. It was called by the emperor Theodosius II, and was presided over by Cyril of Alexandria, whom, later, Celestine appointed as his legate, though he had already sent as his representatives Arcadius and Projectus, bishops, and Philip, a priest. In Cyril's absence the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and not the Roman legates, presided. It is a significant fact that before these arrived the council had condemned Nestorius. After they arrived the council received with joy the news of the event that the year before Celestine and a Roman synod had likewise condemned him: "One Celestine, one Cyril, one faith of the council, one faith of the world." In their letter to the pope the council says that "we commanded that the sentence which your holiness pronounced should remain firm." This necessarily implied their right to decree otherwise. The legate Philip tried to prove before the council that it was simply con-

¹ Aug., Epp. 181, 182 (al., 90-95); Innocent, Epp. 181-183. (Gallandi).

² See Littledale, *The Dawn of the Papal Monarchy*, in *Church Quar. Rev.*, xii, 182-184; Barnby, in *Smith and Wace*, iii, 245, 246.

³ For Chrysostom and Innocent, see Littledale, xii, 179-189; Barnby, iii, 247, 248; Stephens, *St. John Chrysostom*, 334-352. This author also says, p. 325: "The interference of Innocent is courted, a certain primacy is accorded him, but at the same time he is not addressed as a supreme arbitrator; assistance and sympathy are solicited from him as from an elder brother, and two or three prelates of Italy are joint recipients with him of the appeal."

firming the dicta of St. Peter, "exarch and head of the apostles, pillar and foundation of the Church Catholic, who even in the present time lives and exercises these judicial powers in his successors." But the council, though glad to confirm Celestine's judgment, was evidently not governed by it.¹

After Innocent I, Leo the Great must be considered the founder of the papacy. He was the first great teacher to fill the Roman chair. Before him the world looked to Alexandria, Antioch, or Constantinople for the theologians who should formulate its thought. As
 LEO THE GREAT. a rule the popes were echoes, not leaders and theological teachers. When they did speak they sometimes needed correction. The development of theology had as yet but little help from Rome. But Leo was a clear-headed theologian, a man of great force of character and of an abounding ambition for his see. With him began the new era. He followed Innocent I in placing the divine right of Rome to rule the Church on St. Peter. He lays thus a dogmatic basis for the loftiest pretension. The modern Roman theory can almost lay claim to Leo as its first clear exponent.² He soon carried out his theory. Hilary, Archbishop of Arles, deposed Celidonius, the Bishop of Besançon, for violation of the canons in marrying a widow and in taking part in a trial before his ordination, which ended in a sentence of death; thus having in a sense blood on his hands. Celidonius appealed to Leo, who reversed the decision, and, when Hilary refused to submit, abused him heartily. Unwilling to rest in his divine prerogatives, Leo obtained from the weak and criminal emperor, Valentinian III, an edict to Ætius, commander in chief in Gaul, dictated, it is likely, by Leo himself, in 445, which, after saying that the whole world must acknowledge the authority of the Roman see as ruler, continues:

"We decree by this perpetual edict that it shall not be lawful for the bishops of Gaul or of other provinces, contrary to ancient

¹ See Mansi, iv; Labbe, iii; Bright, *Hist. of the Church*, A. D. 313-451, p. 336; and art. Celestinus I, in Smith and Wace; Littledale, in *Church Quar. Rev.*, viii, 6; xii, 190-193. Bellarmine and the modern Roman theory deny that the whole government of the Church resides in the entire body of the episcopate. But even Celestine in his letter to the council distinctly recognized the parity of all bishops as teachers and governors of the Church, and their duty to exercise such rights, though claiming himself as first, sitting in the seat of Peter. See his letter in Mansi, iv, 1283; Allies, *The Church of England Cleared from the Charge of Schism*, 2d ed., Lond., 1833, p. 211, where a full discussion of the ecumenical council of Ephesus in reference to the Roman question is given (pp. 231-248).

² It is not necessary here to give quotations. See his *Epp.* x, xi, xii, 13; xiv, 12; civ-cvi.

custom, to do aught without the authority of the venerable pope of the Eternal City; and whatsoever the authority of the apostolic see has enacted or may hereafter enact shall be the law for all."¹

This was a most nefarious usurpation, overriding the canons, as Du Pin has shown,² of six or seven councils. But councils did not count with Leo, who stood on his Petrine privilege as a solid rock. Nevertheless it was in virtue of the power conferred by this edict that the popes began to exercise their power in the West. It must be said, however, that, in spite of his lifelong refusal to accept the pope's disposition of the Celidonius case, Hilary died in honor and glory as a saint and bishop of Christ, and as such was acknowledged by the Roman see.

However, Leo's success was only partial. After the Robber Synod of Ephesus (449) he tried to induce the Eastern emperor to summon a council to be held in Italy, which should be presided over by the pope, and under the forms prescribed by him. This was refused. Marcian called for a general council to meet September 1, 451, although the pope had expressed his opposition to it. Not to be outdone, Leo wrote to the councils "to account that I am presiding over the synod in the persons of these brethren, Paschasius and Lucentius, bishops, and Boniface and Basil, FOURTH GEN- PRIESTS, WHO HAVE BEEN COMMISSIONED BY THE APOSTOLIC PRAL COUNCIL. see."³ When the fourth general council met at Chalcedon the imperial commissioners took the first place, the Roman legates the second, and the Patriarch of Constantinople the third. The legates won an important point, and they lost an important one. The council allowed Paschasius to word their condemnation of Dioscurus, Patriarch of Alexandria, who was chiefly accountable for the crime of the Robber Synod, in these words:

"Therefore, Leo, the most holy Archbishop of Rome, doth by our mouths, now in behalf of the most holy synod here present, and in union with the thrice blessed apostle Peter, who is the rock and foundation of the Church universal and the basis of the orthodox faith, declare that [Dioscurus] is deprived of the episcopal dignity and degraded from all sacerdotal rank and office."⁴

Then the legates tried to secure the acceptance of Leo's Tome on

¹ For text see Baronius, Ann., 445, ix, x; for trans. see Lit'leale, Church Quar. Rev., xii, 198, 199. On this edict compare the words of the Gallican historian Tillemont: "In the eyes of those who have any love for the Church's liberty or any knowledge of her discipline it will bring as little honor to him whom it praises as of injury to him whom it condemns." *Mémoires Eccles.*, tom. xv, art. xx, p. 83.

² *Antiq. Discip. Eccl. Diss.*, ii, p. 209.

³ Ep. xxii.

⁴ Ep. xxi.

the ground of its being issued by the chair of St. Peter. But this the council resolutely refused. On the other hand, it compared the Tome with the decisions of previous councils, with the opinions of eminent theologians especially of Cyril of Alexandria, the most influential theologian of the East; and it was only because they found it in agreement therewith that they gave their decision. Thus Anatolius, in giving his vote on the Tome, says, and he was followed substantially by all the delegates: "The letter of the holy Archbishop Leo agrees with the Nicene Creed, with that of Constantinople, and with what was done at the council of Ephesus by the holy Cyril, when Nestorius was deposed. That is why I have assented to it, and I have willingly subscribed it." In fact, many of the legates would not subscribe the Tome until they had exacted minute explanations from the legates concerning certain expressions in it, and had satisfied themselves, after several days' examination, that it accorded with the writings of Cyril. This examination and withholding of assent prove conclusively that the council did not consider itself the mouthpiece of Rome, but rather that it had the right to sit in judgment on the latter's decisions.

We have already seen how this council, in the twenty-eighth canon, placed the precedence of Rome on secular grounds, and ranked Constantinople next after it. This ordinance was passed voluntarily by a unanimous vote, the Roman legates alone dissenting. Leo refused to accept this, but the canon was indorsed by the eighth ecumenical council, in 859.

"The distinguished personal character of Leo the Great," says Littledale. "his fearless orthodoxy, the eminent patriotic services he had twice done to the city of Rome, by averting the attack of Alaric and mitigating that of Genseric, and the absence of any self-seeking, even in his all-embracing and otherwise unscrupulous ambition on behalf of his see and office, all tended to make the system, of which he was in large measure the creator, durable in the West, and transmissible in his successors. And it may fairly be doubted, entirely as his claims cover logically the largest demands made subsequently by a Hildebrand or an Innocent III, whether he really saw the full meaning of his own statement and policy or how readily the office of supreme guardian and interpreter of the Church's faith, laws, and ordinances, which he arrogated to himself, might glide, as it did glide, into an imperial autocracy, refusing to be bound by the laws it imposed on all others, ceasing to be the first servant of the law and claiming to be its master, in the terms of those words of Innocent III,

LITTLEDALE
ON LEO THE
GREAT.

embodied in the Canon Law: '*Secundum plenitudinem potestatis de jure possumus supra jus dispensare.*'"¹

Felix III tried to enforce the universal rule of the pope advocated by Leo. On an appeal to the pope by a claimant to the see of Alexandria Felix summoned (484) Acacius, the Patriarch of Constantinople, to stand his trial, in virtue of the power to bind and loose conferred on the apostle Peter and his successors. It seemed as if the dreams of the Roman bishops for centuries were about to be realized. But the East had been the guardians of the primitive traditions, and, although honoring Rome as the great apostolic see of the West, and chief of all the churches, it could not respect her while usurping authority which belonged only to a general council. Acacius did not obey the summons. Each excommunicated the other, and the pope thus precipitated the first great schism which divided the East and West for thirty-five years.²

Gelasius I (492-496) strove with Constantinople, yet without success. He held to the monarchical claims of his predecessors. Some of the propositions in his epistle to the bishop in Illyricum leave the papacy at the close of the fifth century occupying exactly the ground taken by Gregory VII and Innocent III. The later mediæval development simply records the struggle to make the papal theory a practical governing force in all the affairs of the West. Gelasius says that the Roman primacy is divine, antecedent to councils and legislation, and rests on the word of Christ to Peter; that, therefore, the pope has a right to try all cases of heresy himself, to reverse, if necessary, all ecclesiastical sentences, and sit in final judgment on all Churches; that councils can only give publicity to decisions which rest on papal authority alone; that no power on earth can give rank to a Church unless such as is acknowledged by the pope; and that the pope may use any means necessary to suppress assumptions in derogation of the Holy See.³ Yet Gelasius fell short of the mediæval ideal. The absolutist popes made the secular realm dependent upon the spiritual, and the popes and their representatives were supreme over both. But Gelasius I distinguishes the two realms in a clear and satisfactory manner, each being ruled by the proper authorities without dictation from either.

¹ The Dawn of the Papal Monarchy, in *Church Quar. Rev.*, Jan., 1882, p. 366. See also Perthez, *P. Leo's I Leben und Lehren*, Jena, 1843, pp. 226, ff.; Gore, *Leo the Great*, Lond., 1880, pp. 93-129; Schaff, iii, 317, ff.

² For full particulars see the *Church Histories* of Euvagrius and Sozomenus: Barnby, in *Smith and Wace*, ii, 432-485; Littledale, as above, xiii, 369-373; Milman, i, 324-331; Greenwood, *Cathedra Petri*, vol. ii, pp. 1-63, who gives a full, clear, and impartial account of the development of the papal power.

³ Hardouin, ii, 905-916; Littledale, xiii, 375; Barnby, ii, 618, 619.

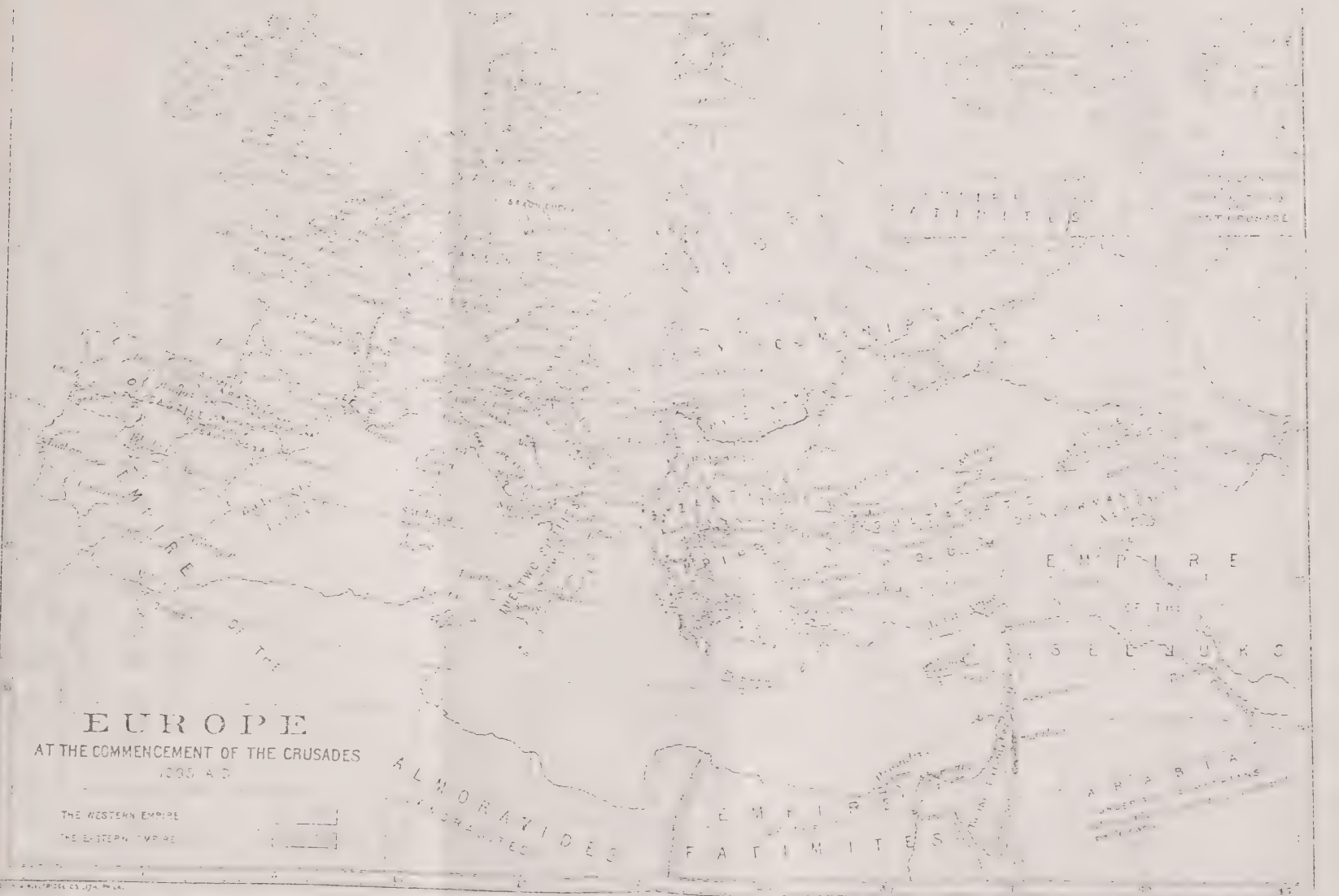
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EUROPE
AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE CRUSADES
1095 A.D.

THE WESTERN EMPIRE
THE EASTERN EMPIRE

CHAPTER XXXVI.

GREGORY THE GREAT.

FOUR really great men have sat in the papal chair—Leo I, Gregory I, Gregory VII, and Innocent III. Of these Gregory the Great was not surpassed by any in the ethical quality of his life, the loftiness of his aim, and the sincerity of his devotion to what he considered the best interests of mankind. That in his hands the papacy received new strength may well be accounted for by the chaotic condition of Europe, the breaking up of all the old national landmarks by the barbaric irruptions, and the removal of the seat of the empire to Constantinople, which left the pope in the popular mind the real ruler of the West. The historical conditions of the time made the papal power a necessity and, in view of the environment, an advantage. A close observer of mediæval times has remarked that the virtues of Gregory, the “disorders of the times, when the old powers of the world were failing and the new had not yet come, made such an authority as his, if it was to be had, like a heaven-sent compensation for all that had perished in the wreck of the empire. Why should we doubt that it was a heaven-sent compensation; that it was ordered by God’s providence, in mercy to men, in times of confusion and change? The power which Gregory had and left grew naturally out of the necessities of the times. But when power has been grandly and beneficently used men are apt to think it has established a title to continuance. And so it passed in time, strengthened by his example, and increasing its demands as it was worse used, to the nominees of the counts of Tusculum and to the popes of Avignon and the Great Schism. It was held to warrant the victory of Canossa, the humiliation of John of England, and the Bulls of Indulgences. It grew up as is the way of institutions to grow up; it served its time as we see in the case of other institutions. The use which Gregory made of it and the conditions of his time more than justified all that it was then. His own use of it, his own example, and the changed conditions of later centuries, to say nothing of its intervening history, are amply sufficient to justify us in believing that its use has passed away.”¹

THE PAPAL
POWER A
NECESSITY.

¹ R. W. Church, *The Letters of Pope Gregory I*, in *Miscellaneous Essays*, p. 276.

Gregory's early life trained him at once as the statesman and the saint of the papacy. He came of an old wealthy senatorial family of Rome, and all the ancient traditions of the city of the seven hills were born again in him. In 574, while still young, he was made prefect of the city, the highest civil office in Rome. From his mother he had inherited a profound religious temperament, and through her influence he gave up his civil position and changed his father's palace into a monastery. But a man of his practical ability could not be allowed to waste his life in monastic seclusion. He was made deacon by Pope Pelagius II, and in 579 was sent to Constantinople as the pope's ambassador. His six years

GREGORY'S
TRAINING FOR
THE PAPACY.

here gave him a rich training in diplomacy. On his return he reentered his monastery, where his strict asceticism, his talents, and his fame as a preacher gained him wide renown. In February, 590, the plague carried off Pelagius, and senate, clergy, and people elected Gregory without a dissenting voice. His sense of unsuitness made him flee from Rome. But he was brought back and ordained in September, 590. His epistles reveal the unfeigned reluctance with which he assumed the office and his longing for the quiet of the monastery: "I have fallen into fears and tremors, since, even though I have no fears for myself, I am greatly afraid for those who have been committed to me. On every side I am tossed by the waves of business and sunk by storms, so that I may truly say, 'I am come into the depth of the sea, and the storm hath overwhelmed me.' I have longed to sit at the feet of the Lord with Mary, to take in the word of his mouth; and, lo, I am compelled to serve with Martha in external things, to be careful and troubled about many things."¹ "With tears I remember how I have lost the placid shore of my rest, and with sighs I behold the land which still, with the winds of affairs blowing against me, I cannot reach."²

In regard to the papacy two aspects of Gregory's testimony are to be noticed: first, his censure of the Patriarch of Constantinople for assuming the title of Universal Bishop. Gregory raves thus: "To consent to that abominable word is to lose the faith."³ "Far from all Christian hearts be that blasphemous name [Universal], whereby the honor of all priests is taken away, when madly claimed as his by one only."⁴ He calls on the emperor to compel the patriarch to give up the title. In writing to the patriarch himself he says: "Who is your pattern in the use of this perverse word save he who saith, 'I will ascend into heaven, I will exalt my

¹ Ep. i, 5.

² Ep. v, 19.

³ Ep. i, 43. Comp. i, 31; vii, 4, *et al.*

⁴ Ep. v, 20.

throne above the stars of God; I will sit also upon the mount of the congregation, in the side of the North; I will ascend above the heights of the clouds; I will be like the Most High?"¹ He rejects the title as earnestly for himself,

CENSURE OF
UNIVERSAL
EPISCOPACY.

for in writing to the Patriarch of Alexandria he says: "In the preface of your letter which you sent to me, the very man who uttered the prohibition, you took pains to use that word of haughty style, calling me Universal Pope, which I beg your holiness, my very dear friend, not to do any more. I account that no honor in which I perceive that my brethren lose their honor. My honor is the honor of the Church universal. My honor is the unimpaired position (*solidus vigor*) of my brethren. I am then truly honored when their rightful honor is not withheld from any of them."² In fact, Gregory places the other two Petrine sees as standing on a level with his own. The three make one see: "For whereas there are many apostles, yet in respect to the primacy only the see of the prince of the apostles, which is his simply in three places, has prevailed as authoritative. For he dignified that see [Rome] in which he was pleased also to rest and to end his life. He adorned the see [Alexandria] to which he sent his disciple the evangelist [St. Mark]. He established the see [Antioch] wherein he sat seven years, though about to quit it. Seeing then that the see in which three bishops now preside by divine authority is one and belongs to one, whatever good I hear of you I count as my own."³

Nevertheless, there is a second aspect of Gregory's testimony. He was not the man to abate one jot of the papal claims. In writing to John of Syracuse he defends himself from the charge of adopting Greek ways in the mass: "With regard to the Church of Constantinople, who doubts that it is subject to the apostolic see?"⁴ To the same prelate he says again: "As for his [the Bishop of Byzacene, in North Africa] saying that he is subject to the apostolic see, I know not what bishop is not subject to it, if there be any faultiness in bishops. Where faultiness does not raise the question, all are equal, in accordance with the rule of humility."⁵ "The apostolic see is the head of all Churches."⁶

The person of Gregory himself tended to a consolidation of papal power. After Leo he was the first theologian in the papal chair. Through their ignorance of theology the popes had often embroiled themselves in great difficulties. But Gregory was the strongest man of his age. The deference due to his official

¹ Ep. v, 18.

² Ep. viii, 30.

³ Ep. viii, 40.

⁴ Ep. ix, 12.

⁵ Ep. ix, 59.

⁶ Ep. xiii, 45.

position enabled him to rehabilitate the papacy in popular esteem, and to make it practically far more powerful than it had been even under his predecessors. He said comparatively little about his own rights, while dispatching promptly, and on the whole wisely and justly, the enormous mass of cases spontaneously referred from all parts of the West to his decision. He thus established a vast number of precedents, nearly all due to voluntary consent of the parties concerned, and scarcely any extorted by pressure from Rome. In this way no resistance or protest was aroused, and accordingly it appeared to the next generation and to many later ones that the authority which was really due to Gregory's personal character was a privilege immemorial and divinely annexed to the great office which he held.¹

Gregory had great respect to the civil authority. Certain Istrian bishops had laid themselves open to his interference. They referred their case to the emperor, who wrote to the pope: "We command your holiness to give no further trouble to these bishops." Gregory obeyed. He also interfered in the case of Maximus, who was consecrated to the see of Salona, in Dalmatia, and was forbidden by the pope to take his office on account of alleged simony. Maximus treated the pope's inhibition with contempt, was confirmed in his see by the emperor, and at the order of the latter Gregory withdrew his demand that Maximus should be tried in Rome, Maximus having shown that it was contrary to the canons to take appeals to Rome.² Another interesting incident reveals the great distance between the spirit of Gregory and Hildebrand, even if in substance their claims were identical. Maurice put forth an edict forbidding soldiers to adopt the monastic life until their terms of military service had expired. He also directed the pope to publish it throughout the West. This touched Gregory keenly. But he thus humbly wrote to the emperor, beseeching him to modify the force of the law: "He is guilty before Almighty God who is not pure of offense toward our most serene lord in all he does and says." "I, indeed, being subject to your command, have caused the law to be transmitted through various parts of the world; and inasmuch as the law itself is by no means agreeable to Almighty God, so I have declared this to my most serene lord. On both sides, then, I have discharged my duty, having both yielded obedience to the emperor and not kept silence as to what I feel in behalf of God." Even here he says that it seems "exceedingly hard that the emperor

¹ Littledale, *The Gregorian Papacy*, in *Church Quar. Rev.*, Jan., 1884, pp. 339, 390.

² *Greg.*, Ep. iv, 10.

³ Ep. iii, 65.

should debar his soldiers from the service of Him who both gave him all and granted him to rule not only over soldiers but even over priests."¹

We are still a long way from Hildebrand. Perhaps it was these reminders of his supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs that so incensed Gregory against Maurice that, in spite of his effusive protestations of loyalty and love to him when living, he sent to his successor, the murderer Phocas, a blasphemous and indecent letter of congratulation, vilifying the dead, and praising the deformed and vulgar upstart who had not only slain Maurice but his whole family—a wife, six sons, and three daughters. Gibbon speaks modestly when he says that "the joyful applause with which the pope saluted the fortune of the assassin has sullied with indelible disgrace the character of the saint."² By the side of the sanguinary reign of Phocas that of Maurice had been liberal and just. A similar dark blot was Gregory's fulsome adulation of Brunhild of Austrasia, a second Jezebel,³ whom a recent scholar calls "perhaps the worst queen that ever lived."⁴ But Gregory was a statesman as well as a priest, and he was not loath to use political methods to advance the interests of the Church and religion.

Gregory's zeal in establishing missions, his continual correspondence with the Churches of Gaul in attempting to heal their abuses and bring order to their chaos,⁵ and his ardent patronage of monachism, as well as his theological and pastoral activity, served to bring the Roman Church to the head and front of Christendom. In 601 he exempted the monks from episcopal jurisdiction, and the Curia had ever after no more zealous advocates. But it was not until 607 that Boniface III procured from the usurper, Phocas, the decree that the "see of Rome and of the apostolic Church should be the head of all Churches, whereas the Church of Constantinople had been wont to style itself first of all Churches."⁶

His work for the Church was manifold. He revived preaching; organized the public worship; protected Rome against the Lombards; administered the estates of the pope, already immense, including territory or properties in Calabria, Sardinia, Sicily, Dal-

¹ Ep. xiii, 31.

² Decline and Fall, ed. Smith, iv, 593 (ch. 46).

³ Fredegar, Chron., xxxvi, 612 (in Migne, tom. 71).

⁴ Kellett, Pope Gregory the Great and his Relation to Gaul, p. 41.

⁵ Kellett, in his Pope Gregory, has given an admirable and thorough investigation of this phase of Gregory's activity. The Appendix continues the account of the relation of the papacy to the Franks down to the coronation of Charles the Great.

⁶ Paul. Diac., De Gest. Longobard., iv, 7.

matia, and even in Gaul and Africa. He advised missionaries, sending the pallium to metropolitans in Italy, Gaul, Spain, and Britain; deposed bishops for simony and other sins; exhorted the clergy to a faithful and holy life; corresponded with princes in both East and West, and kept an eye on all the events of the time. Besides all this he found time to write books. His *Magna Moralia* is an elaborate exposition of the Book of Job according to its historic, its allegorical, and its moral significance. His only qualification as an expositor was his spiritual insight and moral strenuousness. While he knew neither Hebrew nor Greek nor oriental customs, his twenty-two Homilies on Ezekiel and his forty Homilies on the Gospels abound in useful reflections and are full of contemporary allusions. His Dialogues reveal a childish credulity and superstition, for he relates wild and impossible stories of St. Benedict of Nursia and other Italian saints. They are the fountain of many a mediæval myth. His Pastoral Rule is his most important religious book and one of the most precious remains of the Middle Ages. For it is one of the best works on pastoral theology, and can be read with profit even to this day. "It was held in the highest esteem in the Middle Ages, translated into Greek by order of the emperor Maurice, and into Anglo-Saxon by King Alfred, and given to the bishops of France at their ordination, together with a book of canons as a guide in the discharge of their duties." It is full of golden thoughts and sage advice. Like Leo, Gregory was a voluminous letter writer, and his epistles are a mirror of the age. They are a priceless historical source. He revised the Sacramentary, made a collection of antiphons for mass, wrote some hymns, founded a school of singers, and brought in a more simple mode of chanting instead of the artistic Ambrosian chant.

GREGORY'S
VARIED
WRITINGS.

Take him for all in all and abating much, Gregory was one of the greatest men of the Middle Ages, and his fruitful life in a stormy, rude, and barbarous age reflects great glory on the Church of his times. "As Luther in his last will calls himself an advocate of God, whose name was well known in heaven and on earth and in hell, the epitaph says of Gregory I that he ruled as the *consul Dei*."¹ He was the second founder of the papacy, "because he gave as a foundation to the increasing grandeur of the Holy See the renown of his virtue, the candor of his innocence, and the humble and inexhaustible tenderness of his heart."²

¹ Baxmann, *Politik der Päpste*, i, 44.
² Mentalembert, *The Monks of the West*, ii, 175. For a collection of estimates of Gregory see Schaff, iv, 216-218.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

FIVE HUNDRED YEARS OF THE PAPACY AND THE NIGHT OF
THE ROMAN CHURCH.

THE Middle Ages may be summed up in one word, Rome. All the currents of mediæval history flow from Rome and lead back again to Rome. Gregorovius calls her the lofty watchtower from which we can survey the movements of the mediæval world, and adds that this marvelous historical evolution of Rome is one of the mysteries of history. "Christianity," he continues, "which sprang up within the narrow confines of Jewish nationality, though cosmopolitan in its essence, was drawn to Rome, the capital of the world, as to a seat already prepared for it by history, where, from out the ruins of a political monarchy, it was destined to raise up a moral monarchy in the giant form of the Church."¹ When the Roman empire passed to the Germans the Roman Church was the mediator of the gift, and she herself in a sense passed over with it to become the ruler of the new age. The Germans "retained the deepest reverence for the Roman Church as well as for the Roman ideal of the State, their traditions having become the political dogma of the world. The Church itself, in its essence, the guardian of the unity of thought, or of the Christian republic, inculcated these Latin ideas, and sought to Romanize mankind. The religious creed of the Germans, their hierarchy, the language of their religion, their festivals, their apostles, their saints, were all Roman, or derived from a Roman source. Thus eventually it came to pass that the Germans, the rulers of the Latin race, with which they became intermingled on a classic soil, restored the empire which they had previously destroyed. But this restoration was essentially the work of the Roman Church, which required the reestablishment of her prototype as a necessary element of her international character and a guarantee of the universal religion."² Freeman declares that Rome is the determining center of history, the center of our studies and the goal of our thoughts. He thus impatiently flings aside the thought that the year 476 saw the end of Rome's magic sway! "He who ends his work in 476, and he who begins his work in 476, can neither of them

GREGOROVIVS
ON ROME.FREEMAN ON
ROME.¹ Hist. of Rome in the Middle Ages, i, 5.² *Ibid.*, p. 13.

understand in its fullness the abiding life of Rome; neither can fully grasp the depth and power of that truest of proverbial sayings which speaks of Rome as the Eternal City." He says that the most notable historic feature of our present age is the Romeless feature of it, and that the most natural division of European history is that into three great and marked periods, the old Romeless Europe, Europe under the lead of Rome, and the modern Romeless Europe.' The historical problems symbolized by the phrase, the "Eternal City," reappear to-day in the "Eternal Eastern Question"—the conflict between civilization and barbarism, between Christianity and heathenism.'

The greatest mediæval ecclesiastical force after Gregory the Great is Hildebrand. Five hundred years intervene between them.

Under Boniface III (606-607) the title of bishop, which Gregory had repudiated as an impiety, was given by the emperor BONIFACE III. Phocas to the pope. Boniface had been employed by his predecessor in some official capacity at Constantinople, and had succeeded in ingratiating himself with the emperor, who also wished to punish the patriarch of that city for his humanity in protecting the wife and daughters of Maurice from his murderous hands. Under Boniface also a salutary law was passed providing that no one should form a party for the succession to a bishopric; three days were to elapse before the election, and all bribery and simoniacal bargaining were strictly forbidden. The election must be made by the clergy and people, and ratified by the prince.

Visitors to Rome find at once the most ancient church when they go to the Pantheon, which, on account of its beauty, sanctity, and antiquity is esteemed the most precious ornament of Rome. It was built by Vipsanius Agrippa, the liberal-minded general and son-in-law to Augustus, B. C. 27, and for six centuries had withstood the inundations of the Tiber and the rains of the winter. Boniface IV, in 608, received the permission of Phocas to take possession of this temple, which he did with his chanting priests, sprinkling its walls with holy water, and dedicating it to the "new tutelary deities," the Virgin Mary and the martyrs. Few popes have left so honorable a ground for remembrance. This finest architectural monument of ancient Rome owes its preservation to this transformation.'

¹ Chief Periods of European History, pp. 3, 4.

² Freeman's well-known views reappear here. It were well if European politicians would study them. The exterminating massacres of 1895 in Armenia, the second cradle of the world, have no counterpart in the age of Augustus.

³ Gregorovius, Hist. of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages, ii, 105-113.

Pope Honorius (625-638) was a great builder. He gained permission of the emperor Heraclius to spoil one of the finest monuments of antiquity, Hadrian's Temple, and transferred its gilt bronze tiles to the Church of St. Peter's. He erected a basilica within the walls of the ancient curia or senate, where under Gothic rule a semblance of parliament had been held. Many of the historic structures of pagan Rome were thus in part, or in outline, preserved by being turned to Christian uses.¹

The successors of Honorius bravely compensated for his leaning toward the one-will doctrine. Martin I (649-655) became a martyr to the orthodox idea. The emperor Constant (641-668) had attempted to pacify the contending parties by publishing the Type, which assumed a noncommittal attitude on the main question, and prohibited by severe penalties the use of the phrase of either "the single or double will or energy in Christ." Such a compromise would not satisfy the valiant Martin, who summoned a council in the Lateran in 649, which pronounced the Type impious, and excommunicated the Patriarch of Constantinople. The subsequent arrest of the pope, his transfer to the imperial city, his cruel imprisonment there, and his banishment to the inhospitable Chersonesus, where he died, constitute a romantic history of the first and the only time when the despotic Byzantinism which ruled and ruined the Eastern Church for a thousand years stretched out its hand to pull the Roman bishop from his throne. It is instructive, however, in showing how little at this time the East was affected by the growing pretensions of Rome. But Martin's heroic conduct and pious spirit shed unwonted light on a gloomy epoch.² No doubt it was the memory of this outrage which made the popes look the more eagerly toward the North for political alliance. In 663 Constant visited Rome, was received with every token of respect, so different from the attitude assumed by the popes in later times, and repaid the hospitality by robbing the churches of their bronze ornaments. These, however, fell into the hands of the Saracens, and Constant himself was murdered in his bath in Syracuse by his slave.

In the sixth general council, which met in the Trullus or Hall of the Cupola, in the imperial palace, Constantinople, November 7, 680—September 16, 681, the legates of the pope, Agatho (678-682), were the most influential factors in determining the theological result, and this not through any reverence

¹ Gregorovius, ii, 118-133.

² See Mansi, *Con. Coll.*, x, 790, 1170; Muratori, *Rev. Ital. Script.*, iii, pt. i; Milman, ii, 276-281; Barmby, in Smith and Wace, ii, 848-857; Gregorovius, ii, 144-149; Greenwood, ii, 426-433.

for an alleged Petrine infallibility, but solely through the weightier arguments advanced by them. This appears in the speech of George, the Patriarch of Constantinople, the determining voice in the council, who, in the seventh session, arose and declared that having carefully examined the passage from the Fathers cited on the one hand by the Western bishops (two wills) and on the other by Macarius, Patriarch of Antioch, the great champion of the one will, he had become convinced of the righteousness of the Roman contention, and "to them accordingly," he said, "I offer my adhesion, theirs is my confession and belief." His example was followed by the bishops of the great Eastern sees.

A dramatic incident at this council reveals the spirit of the age. Polychronius, a fanatical Monothelite monk, challenged the council to put the truthfulness of his opinion to the test of a miracle. He promised to lay his creed on a dead body; the dead would arise, as a supernatural sign of the orthodoxy of the one will. A body was procured and in the presence of the whole assembly the test was made.¹ For hours the council awaited the issue, Polychronius sitting at the head of the corpse whispering in its ear, the paper containing his creed lying on its breast. But God refused to interfere. A unanimous anathema condemned Polychronius as a deceiver, and he was degraded from all his functions.²

Pope Leo II (682-683) accepted the decision of this council, including its formal anathema of his predecessor Honorius as a heretic in these memorable words: "After due examination we pronounce this sixth general council of the Church to be in strict conformity with the five preceding councils. We also received with pleasure the [confirmatory] edict of your majesty [he is writing to the emperor]; because in conjunction with the decree of the council we are thus put in possession of a two-edged sword for the extirpation of all manner of heresy. We therefore give an entire consent to the definitions of this holy sixth general council, and receive it as of equal authority with the five preceding councils of the universal Church, and we do hereby anathematize the inventors of the new heresy, to wit, Theodore of Pharan, . . . and lastly Honorius, who, instead of maintaining the bright purity of the apostolic see, did conspire and make common cause with heretics for the overthrow of the true faith."³

A rising sense of Italian nationality seems to be indicated in

¹ Hardouin, *Concilia*, iii, 1063-1064. Abridged details in Baronius, *Ann.*, 679, 680, 681, as Fleury, ix, 25-65.

² Baronius, *Ann.*, 681, § 36.

³ *Idem.*, 683, §§ xiii-xv; Greenwood, ii, 437-442.

the abortive attempt of the emperor to punish the pope for his refusal to accept the canons of the Quinisextan synod.¹ This synod (691)² attempted to supplement the last two general councils on the disciplinary side. Although strict in enforcing abstinence from marriage on the part of the clergy, it did not forbid the ordination of men previously married. For this lack of thoroughness in its ascetic requirements Pope Sergius (687-701) denounced it. For this the emperor Justinian II tried to repeat the act of Martin I by ordering the arrest and transportation of the pope to Constantinople. But the soldiers in Italy interfered, and the pope was saved. Pope Constantine (708-716) went to Constantinople at the request of Justinian, but was received with great honor, returning within a year. Whether he ratified the Quinisextan decrees does not appear.

QUINISEXTAN
SYNOD.

With Gregory II (712-731) a new era arose in the history of the world. The West assumed a new attitude toward the East. Imperial Rome lived once more, and her voice was heard again.

When the Eastern emperor entered upon his iconoclastic crusade he received a peremptory refusal from the Roman bishop, and in a tone not too respectful.

NEW ERA UN-
DER GREGORY
II.

His successor, Gregory III (731-741), was equally free in his rebuke of the East and decided in his refusal to heed the emperor's edict against images.³ Yet the pope did not assume political independence. What with the Lombards threatening on the North and the Church patrimonies in the Neapolitan and Sicilian provinces at the mercy of the emperor, it was obviously to the pope's advantage to keep up a nominal connection with the East. But the middle of this century saw the looming up of a great power which came just in time to save the papacy, and thus mediæval civilization. By the end of the century that power was firmly installed on the ruins of the Eastern empire in the West, and the holy Roman empire succeeded to the traditions which had been a living force since 476,⁴ and Charles the Great became the Romulus of the Church.

It was the intention of Thomas Arnold to carry on his great History of Rome to the coronation of Charles the Great. That proved

¹ So called because it was convened to fill up the gaps left by the fifth and sixth general councils in matters of discipline; sometimes also called the Trullan, from the room in the imperial palace where it was held.

² Date uncertain.

³ See Gregory's letter to Leo, in Greenwood, ii, 476-479.

⁴ Freeman insists that after all it is only a fiction which represents the Roman empire as ceasing when the boy Romulus Augustulus was sent to end his days among the gardens and fish ponds of Lucullus's villa near Naples.

the philosophic insight of the great historian. In a real sense the coronation of Charles was the beginning of modern history. It was a turning point in the history of the world, of far more importance than the so-called end of the Roman empire in 476. In outward form it "restored Old Rome," as Freeman says, "to her old position. She again became, if not the dwelling place, at least the crowning place, of emperors. For a thousand years longer the titles of her empire went on; for seven hundred years longer they could be won only before the altar of the Vatican basilica. For full five hundred years longer the Roman empire of the West was, as such, a living thing, a thing that influenced the minds and acts of men, a mighty fact, a still mightier theory. But in the West the emperor of the Romans had less and less to do with Old Rome. To this imperial capital he gradually became a stranger, and his capital became a city of strangers to him. In short, the Roman power in the West altogether passed away, not only from the Roman city, but from the artificial Roman nation. When Rome again asserted her right to choose her sovereign, she chose—she could not fail to choose—a man who was not a Roman, even by adoption. She chose the Frankish king. Pepin had been a patrician; so had Ricimer; so had Odoacer. But the son of Pepin bore a loftier style. The long-abiding tradition had broken through; a barbarian received a diadem; the Roman pontiff spoke the words, and the Roman people echoed them—'Karolo Augusto, a Deo coronato, magno et pacifico Romanorum Imperatori, vita et victoria.' The German was the last Augustus. No greater witness could there be to the moral conquest which each race had won over the other. The empire now in form received its greatest territorial enlargement. Gaul was won back and Germany was added. Wherever the Frankish king had ruled before as king he now ruled as emperor. Terminus advanced to the Elbe and the Eider; he was ready to advance to the Oder and the Vistula, or, if need should be, to the world's end. All unreal, all nominal, some objector will cry; an advance, not of Rome, but of Germany; an advance, not of the Roman Augustus, but of the Frankish king. And truly the empire of Charles, much more the empire of the Henrys and the Fredericks, was unreal in this, that it was assuredly a very different thing from the empire of Trajan or of Diocletian. It was assuredly not Roman in the sense in which the empire even of Theodosius was Roman. But here lies the greatest proof of the influence of Rome, of her magic power over the minds of men, that a power which had practically ceased to be Roman should still be Roman in men's eyes, and, as Roman,

FREEMAN ON
THE ROMAN
EMPIRE.

should command a reverence, a devotion, a bowing down, as it were, of the whole soul, which could be called forth by no other name. A name may have lost its first meaning ; but as long as men will fight and die for the name the name is a fact indeed.”¹

The greatest pope of this half of a millennium was Nicholas I (858-867). He asserted the papal prerogative to the utmost, and had the Forged Decretals to help him. His first opportunity was the case of Photius. In that he held these high words :

“ We, by the power committed to us by our Lord through St. Peter, restore our brother Ignatius to his former station, to his see [Constantinople], to his dignity as patriarch, and to all the honors of his office. Whoever after the promulgation of this decree shall presume to disturb him in the exercise of his office, separate from his communion, or dare to judge him anew, without the consent of the apostolic see, if a clerk, shall have the eternal punishment of the traitor Judas ; if a layman, he has incurred the malediction of Canaan : he is excommunicate, and will suffer the same fearful sentence from the eternal Judge.”

NICHOLAS I.

When the Emperor of the East demanded the surrender of the monk, Theognetus, the messenger of Ignatius, the pope replied : “ Many thousands come to Rome every year and place themselves devoutly under the protection of St. Peter. We have the power of summoning monks, and even clergy, from every part of the world ; you, O emperor, have no such power. You have nothing to do with monks, but humbly to entreat their prayers.”²

He also humbled the great Archbishop of Ravenna. Robbed of residence in the imperial city, he desired to emancipate himself from the papal jurisdiction. But his pride and harshness took from him the support of his own city, and after humiliating him the pope received him back into communion on these terms : that he should present himself yearly at Rome ; that he should consecrate no bishop except by the sanction of the pope ; to allow appeals to Rome ; and to surrender all contested property. “ So ended this opposition to the papal supremacy in Italy.”³

Nicholas entered with undaunted nerve into a battle with Lothaire II, King of Lorraine, over his divorce from his wife, and this involved him in conflicts with the strongest bishops of Gaul. The result was, the papal power was raised higher than ever. Over both kings and bishops Nicholas came off victorious. He joined issue with the great Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, whom he also humbled, and first used that powerful agency for papal aggression,

¹ Chief Periods of European History, Lond., 1886, pp. 104-108.

² Baronius, Ann., 863.

³ See Milman, iii, 38-40.

the sending out of the legates, which virtually makes the pope ubiquitous. Of him could an old chronicler say: "Since the days of Gregory I to our time sat no high priest on the throne of St. Peter to be compared to Nicholas. He tamed kings and tyrants, and ruled the world like a sovereign. To holy bishops and clergy he was mild and gentle; to the wicked and unconverted a terror; so that we might truly say a new Elias arose in him."¹

So far no popes, though possessing a certain temporal dominion themselves, had ever dared to interfere with the temporal affairs of others, or dictate as to kingdoms and thrones. Their keeping to their spiritual claims had given them an immense vantage ground. But this could not last. If God had given into the hands of one man supreme spiritual jurisdiction, that must eventually include secular things, as the greater includes the less. The popes must in time press forward to this logical position, as the churchmen of the apostolic succession must eventually accept the logic of Newman. They did press forward to it, and against it they perished.

The first who interfered in the temporal arena was Pope Adrian (Hadrian) II (867-872). In a territorial dispute between Charles the Bald and the emperor Louis II, Adrian took the side of the emperor. It was really a question of the independence of France from Italy. Hincmar of Rheims, still undaunted in spite of his temporary defeat by Nicholas I, thus expressed the rising sentiment of French nationality in an appeal of Charles and his nobles to the French bishops: "You contribute your prayers only against

ADRIAN II.

the Normans and other invaders; if you would have the support of our army as we of your prayers, demand of the apostolic Father that as he cannot be both king and bishop, and as his predecessors ruled the Church, which is their own, not the State, which is the king's, he impose not on us a distant king, who cannot defend us against the sudden and frequent attacks of the pagans, nor command us Franks to be slaves. His ancestors laid not their yoke on our ancestors, nor will we bear it, for it is written in the Scriptures that we should fight for our liberty and our inheritance to the death."² But in this and other quarrels over French affairs the pope was foiled in each instance, and the new rôle of his Holiness in awarding crowns was deferred to a more convenient season.

Between Leo IV and Benedict III (855) comes the famous story

¹ See an excellent account in Milman, iii, 21-66.

² Hincmar, Opera, ii, 695; Milman, iii, 72.

of the female pope Joanna. We give it in the words of Platina: 'John, of English extraction, but born at Mentz, is said to have arrived at the popedom by evil arts. For THE POPE JO-
ANNA. disguising herself like a man, whereas she was a woman, she went when young with her paramour, a learned man, to Athens, and made such progress in learning under the professors there that, coming to Rome, she met with few that could equal, much less go beyond her, even in the knowledge of Scriptures; and by her learned and ingenious readings and disputations she acquired so great respect and authority that upon the death of Leo (as Martin says),² by common consent, she was chosen pope in his room. As she was going to the Lateran Church between the Colossean theater (so-called from Nero's Colossus) and St. Clement's, her travail came upon her, and she died upon the place, having sat two years, one month, and four days, and was buried there without any pomp. This story is vulgarly told, but by very uncertain and obscure authors, and therefore I have related it barely and in short, lest I should seem obstinate and pertinacious if I had omitted what is so generally talked. I had better mistake, with the rest of the world, though it is certain that what I have related may be thought not altogether incredible."³

This remarkable story had wide vogue; like many a mediæval legend. It was almost universally believed until the learned Protestant, David Blondel, in 1647, subjecting it to a critical examination, proved it to be without basis. For this, however, he was much censured by his Protestant contemporaries.⁴ It arose from the play of the imagination about such circumstances as the singular circuit made in papal processions in which a street in which stood a statue representing a woman and a child was avoided; a peculiar inscription on this statue, "Papa pater patrum peperit papissa papellum;" and the use of a pierced seat to enthrone the pope. The following facts discredit the legend: 1. It is not mentioned until four hundred years after the supposed occurrence. Why are the mediæval chroniclers before Stephen de Bourbon (d. 1261) entirely silent? 2. The promulgation of the myth is chiefly due to the historical hornbook of the later Middle Ages,

¹ History of the Popes, pub. in Vienna, 1479.

² He alludes to Martinus Polanus (d. 1278), whose Chronicle was one of the great text-books in the Middle Ages. It is a "dry, mechanical, and utterly unmetrical collection of biographical notes," and is "stuffed with fables." See Döllinger, *Fables and Prophecies of the Middle Ages*, ed. H. B. Smith, p. 16.

³ Platina, sub John VIII (ed. Benham, Lond., n. d., p. 224).

⁴ Blondel, *Familier éclaircissement de la question si une femme a été assise au siège papal de Rome*, Amsterdam, 1647-49.

the Chronicle of Martinus Polanus, a Roman penitentiary, in which it is inserted, not in the earlier but in the later editions between 1278 and 1312. 3. The legends differ. 4. Its insertion in the *Liber Pontificalis*, which misled very many, is the later addition. 5. It is indisputably proved by contemporary testimony of the clearest nature that Benedict III immediately succeeded Leo IV. 6. None of the Easterns in their fierce disputes with Rome ever bring forth the scandal.¹

We cannot go into the details of the dark history from John VIII (872) to Hildebrand (1073). It is the night of the papacy.

CORRUPTION
OF THE
CHURCH.

The Carolingian line had passed away, and the empire was frequently transferred from one dynasty to another. Then the dukes and counts of Italy arose and reduced the popes to the position of slaves of contending factions. The popes were the footballs of the dukes of Tusculum on the one hand and the barons of Rome on the other. They were elected, deposed, imprisoned, murdered. The times were turbulent, and, instead of the head of the Church arising out of the turmoil and moral wreckage like a beacon light to guide men to the peace and holiness of Christ, he himself descended to the level of the times. He was as "fierce and licentious as the petty princes who surrounded him, out of whose stock he sprang, and whose habits he did not break off when raised to the papal throne."² At times adulteresses ruled the Church, and the papal palace was like the old pagan imperial palace, the center of debauchery, lying, intrigue, and murder. The brilliant young Roman Catholic, Möhler, called Sergius III, John X, John XI, and John XII "horrible popes," and says that crimes alone secured the papal dignity.³ Abandoned women, such as Marozia and Theodora, filled the papal chair, the

CRIMES OF THE
POPE.

seat of the vicar of Christ, with their paramours and bastards.⁴ A synod charged against one of these popes, John XII (955-963), that he always appeared armed, that he neglected prayers and all religious observances, that he was fond of hunting, that he had made a boy of ten a bishop, ordained bishops in a stable, mutilated a priest, violated virgins and widows high and low, lived with his father's mistress, converted the pontifical palace into a brothel, drank to the health of the devil, and invoked at the gambling table the help of Jupiter and Venus and other

¹ See Dollinger, *Fables and Prophecies of the Middle Ages*, pp. 3-74, 427-437; the *Church Histories* of Schroeckh, xxii, 75-110; J. E. C. Schmidt, iv, 274-295; Kurtz, 10th ed., § 82, 6; Alzog, tr., ii, 266-269; Bower, *Lives of the Popes*, iv, 246-260; Gieseler, ii, 30, 31 (Smith).

² Milman, iii, 81.

³ *Kirchengesch.*, ed. Gams., ii, 183.

⁴ Luitprand, in Migne, tom. 156.

heathen deities. A fitting climax of such a life was his murder by the husband of one of his paramours while in the act of adultery.¹

It is interesting to hear a voice from that age rebuking the iniquity, and questioning whether men were to reverence an institution which had sold itself to antichrist. In a Gallican synod (991) Arnulf, Bishop of Orleans, inspired perhaps by Gerbert, the secretary of the council and afterward Pope Sylvester II, reviews some contemporary matters in this trenchant language :

“ Looking at the actual state of the papacy what do we behold ? John [XII], called Octavian, wallowing in a sty of filthy concupis-
cence, conspiring against the sovereign whom he had himself recently crowned ; then Leo [VIII], the neophyte,² chased from the city by this Octavian ; and that monster himself, after the commission of many murders and cruelties, dying by the hand of an assassin. Next we see the deacon, Benedict, though freely elected by the Romans, carried away captive into the wilds of Germany by the new Caesar [Otho I] and his Pope Leo. Then
a second Cæsar [Otho II], greater in arts and arms
than the first, succeeds ; and in his absence Boniface, a
very monster of iniquity, reeking with the blood of his predecessor, mounts the throne of Peter. True, he is expelled and condemned, but only to return again and redden his hands with the holy bishop [John XIV]. Are there any indeed bold enough to maintain that the priests of the Lord over all the world are to take their law from monsters of guilt like these—men branded with ignominy, illiterate men, and ignorant alike of things human and divine ? If, holy fathers, we be bound to weigh in the balance the lives, the morals, the attainments of the meanest candidate for the sacerdotal office, how much more ought we to look to the fitness of him who aspires to be the lord and master of all priests ? Yet how would it fare with us if it should happen that the man the most deficient in all these virtues, one so abject as to fill the lowest place among the priesthood, should be chosen to fill the highest place of all ? What would you say of such an one when you beheld him sitting upon the throne glittering in purple and gold ? Must he not be the ‘ Antichrist sitting in the temple of God, and showing himself as God ? ’ Verily, such an one lacketh both wisdom and charity ; he standeth in the temple as an image, as an idol, from which as from dead marble you would seek counsel.”

ARNULF ON
THE GUILT OF
THE CHURCH.

¹ Luitprand, in Migne, tom. 136, 898-910.

² So called because he was a layman when elected pope, and was hurried through the various ministerial orders.

A word like this from out of the very heart of the Church of the time is of infinite value. It proves that even then there were thousands who had not bowed the knee to Baal, and that the infamies of the papacy were weakening its hold on mankind. There must come a Hil-debrand to drive the guilty out of the house of God. For in this same speech the best conscience of the Gallican Church speaks again:

“But the Church of God is not subject to a wicked pope, nor even absolutely, on all occasions, to a good one. Let us rather in our difficulties resort to our brethren of Belgium and Germany than to that city, where all things are venal, where judgment and justice are bartered for gold. Let us imitate the great Church of Africa, which, in reply to the pretensions of the Roman pontiff, deemed it inconceivable that the Lord should have invested any one person with his own plenary prerogative of judicature and yet have denied it to the great congregation of his priests assembled in council in different parts of the world. If it be true, as we are informed by common report, that there is in Rome scarcely a man acquainted with letters—without which, as it is written, one may scarcely be a doorkeeper in the house of God—with what face may he who hath himself learnt nothing set himself up for a teacher of others? In the simple priest ignorance is bad enough; but in the high priest of Rome, in him to whom it is given to pass in review the faith, the lives, the morals, the discipline of the whole body of the priesthood, yea, of the universal Church, ignorance is in nowise to be tolerated. Why should he not be subject in judgment to those who, though lowest in place, are his superiors in virtue and wisdom? Yea, not even he, the prince of apostles, declined the rebuke of Paul, through him inferior in place; and saith the great Pope Gregory, ‘If a bishop be in fault, I know not any such who is not subject to the holy see; but if faultless, let everyone understand that he is the equal of the Roman pontiff himself, and as well qualified as he to give judgment in any matter.’” He refers to Rome having lost her prestige—the “mistress of Churches and nations deserted by God and man.” The East has fallen away from her, and even the “people of inner Spain take no heed to her decrees.” “By all this it is manifest that the power of Rome is shaken; religion hath taken flight from her, and the name of God is dishonored and insulted with impunity. For a supreme pontiff [John XII] hath openly defied God and deserted his people. Who then shall adhere to Rome when Rome deserts herself—when she will neither accept counsel nor impart it to others?”

¹ Mansi, Conc., xix, 107; Pertz, Mon. Ger., v, 658; Schaff, iv, 290-292; Greenwood, Cathedra Petri, iii, 540-546.

We must remember that it was a visit to Rome which disenchanted Martin Luther. But God had yet more work for Rome.

A phase of this disreputable history has been pressed home against Rome by Littledale. He quotes the canon law concerning simony, force, and other crimes as invalidating ecclesiastical relations, and he draws the conclusion that during the terrible years of the Pornocracy not one pope was rightly constituted, not one of their acts was canonical, and that the whole Petrine succession and privilege, if they ever existed, lapsed. There is not the least doubt that on Roman Catholic principles his contention is perfectly sound. Popes were murdered by one faction, and others were intruded into their places, often at the bidding of a set of unscrupulous courtesans. Baronius himself declares that a whole series of these popes down to 963, when the emperor Otto I interfered to save the Church, were false pontiffs, and a canonist must draw the conclusion that at the end of this sixty years' anarchy not a single clerical elector in Rome was qualified to vote. Another series of intruded popes were those who reigned from 1012 to 1046. In 1046 Gregory VI was deposed for simony by the council of Sutri. The Germans charged the local Roman clergy as being almost to a man either illiterate, or simoniac, or immoral. In 1059 a great change was introduced in the mode of election, the right of voting being transferred to a college of cardinals. In 1179 it was enacted that two thirds were sufficient for an election, although it was not until 1181 that the new regulation was carried out.¹ The Catholics reply to Littledale that the Church is greater than the canon law, and that she lives not in virtue of her obedience to the canons, but in virtue of her divine life and calling. But until the rise of Hildebrand it seemed as if St. Peter had abandoned the ship, and that the pirates were in full charge.

¹ *Legal Flaws in the Later Papacy*, in *Ch. Quar. Rev.*, July, 1884, 452-457.

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CHAPTER XXXVIII.

HILDEBRAND.

To cleanse the Augean stables of the Church needed a reformer of heroic mold. He was provided in Hildebrand. But he had fererunners. One of these was Leo IX, who ruled from 1049 to 1054. When offered the papacy by the emperor Henry III he declined to receive the honor, except on the condition of his election by the Roman people.¹ When Bruno of Toul was on his way to Rome he visited the monastery of Cluny, and took with him from there the monk Hildebrand, who became his right-hand man in all his struggles. Leo sought to fill up the ideal of Nicholas I and restore the Church to its pure foundations. He first called for a synod at Rheims, where he boldly attacked the crime of simony, and tried to bring the French clergy to some realization of their duties. He then passed over into Germany, and at Mainz summoned the German bishops, to be chastised for their immoralities. Italy came next. The reforming zeal of Leo was making him immensely popular with the people and the Cluniac monks. It was the monastery of Cluny that furnished the source for all the regenerating influences which visited the Roman Church at that dark time. Emerson says: "Already we discern traces of that alliance of the papacy with great popular movements which is the clew to its policy for centuries. Its enemies were kings and secular prelates, its friends were the struggling masses of the cities now first beginning to feel themselves aroused to a sense of political unity and a consciousness of undeveloped strength."²

Leo was a pope of great energy. He traveled widely, convening synods, rebuking vice, and awakening in the people an interest in all the movements of the Church. At one time he thought of deposing every priest and bishop who had obtained his benefice by simony. But this he had to abandon, as it would have struck more than two thirds of the officers of the Church. His last days were troubled. The Normans had taken possession of Benevento,

¹ The tradition that Leo declined to receive the papacy except his election was confirmed by the clergy and people of Rome has been called in question by Martens, *Die Besetzung des päpstlichen Stuhles unter den Kaisern Heinrich III und IV.* Freiburg in B., 1887.

² *Medieval Europe*, pp. 208, 209.

and, as the emperor refused to march against them, this brave pope, daunted at nothing, raised an army and tried to drive them out. But he was defeated, taken prisoner, and held captive at Benevento, from June 23, 1053, to March 12, 1054. On his death a few days after his release the people desired to elect his great deacon, Hildebrand, but this the latter declined.

During the reigns of the successors of Leo the most powerful man in Rome was Hildebrand. But it was not until 1073 that the people succeeded in getting him elected, and then only at the tumultuous demand of the mob. Gregory VII, the son of a carpenter, was born at Siena, about 1015. He was educated in monasteries at Rome and Cluny. After leaving Cluny he became the leading spirit in ecclesiastical affairs, going on important embassies, securing the election of popes whom he favored, and stimulating the whole life of the Church. His own election was canonically invalid. This was recognized by many even at the time. The emperor charged him with being an invader of the Church; the bishops accused him of having seized the government of the Church against law and order; and Egilbert, in 1080, denied the pope's authority on the ground that he invaded the apostolic chair. Later writers expanded and defined these charges. In 1892 Mirbt sifted all the evidence and reached the following conclusions:¹ 1. On the charges of corruption, intimidation, and unscrupulous ambition Gregory must be acquitted. And if the assent of the emperor was wanting before the election, it was given before the consecration. 2. The electoral law of 1059, however, was disregarded; the cardinals were excluded, and the proceedings were tumultuous. The election, therefore, was illegal and void. But if Gregory was not by law a pope, no one was in fact more pope than he. Providence does not care for legal technicalities.

Gregory bent himself to effect two things—the moral reformation of the clergy and the independence of the Church. There was, first, the determination to enforce and enlarge the law respecting clerical celibacy. As early as the fourth century the popes had tried to bring the three higher orders of clergy under the rules of celibacy, but always with poor success. Even when legal marriages were no longer allowed, the clergy kept women in their houses, as do Italian priests to-day. A tax called *colligium* was really a license to keep concubines. By the laws of France and Castile the sons of priests were empowered to inherit. In Milan, in the middle of the eleventh century, all priests and deacons were married. Hadrian II

¹ Die Wahl Gregors VII, Marburg, 1892. See C. A. Scott, in Crit. Rev., iv, 305.

was married before he became pope, and Benedict IX resigned the papal chair in order to marry.¹ Rutherius, an Italian bishop in 966, said that all his clergy were married, and that if he were to enforce the law only boys would be left in the Church, and even they would be ejected under the rule that bastards were ineligible to sacred offices.² Gregory determined so far as possible to purify the priesthood from adultery as well as to make it independent of all earthly ties. In this no doubt he was led by the loftiest motives. To him it seemed necessary for the very salvation of the Church. The legalizing of marriage would bring in the hereditary transmission of benefices, and that would transform the Church into a close corporation, a separate caste of individual proprietors. Hence there could be no fresh infusion of life and vigor from the ranks of the common people, whence he himself sprang. The Church was the only career open to the peasant. The clergy must be kept close to the Church and separate from the world. Lea says: "It is easy to see how the churchman could have selected matrimonial alliances of the most politic and aggrandizing character; and as possession of property and hereditary transmission of benefices would have necessarily followed in the permission to marry, an ecclesiastical caste, combining temporal and spiritual power in the most dangerous excess, would have repeated in Europe the distinctions between the Brahman and Sudra of India. The perpetual admission of self-made men into the hierarchy, which distinguished the Church even in times of the most aristocratic feudalism, was for ages the only practical recognition of the equality of man, and was one of the most powerful causes at work during the Middle Ages to render national liberty eventually possible with advancing civilization. Looking therefore upon the Church as an instrumentality to effect certain beneficent results in the cause of human improvement, we may regard celibacy as a necessary element of sacerdotalism, the abolition of which would have required the entire destruction of the papal system and the fundamental reconstruction of ecclesiastical institutions."³

In March, 1074, Gregory held his first synod, which ordered that henceforth no one should be admitted to orders without a vow of celibacy, and renewed the legislation of Nicholas II that people must not attend the ministrations of those whose lives were a violation of this rule. The only difference here between Gregory

GREGORY EN-
FORCING CEL-
IBACY.

¹ Vincent, *The Age of Hildebrand*, N. Y., 1896, pp. 25, 26.

² *Ibid.*, p. 27.

³ *Hist. of Sacerdotal Celibacy in the Christian Church*, 2d ed., rev. and enl., p. 226.

and previous popes was his determination that these laws should no longer remain a dead letter. He sent the canons to all the bishops of Europe, with instructions to see that they were obeyed, and he dispatched legates in every direction to see that the rules were carried out. Infinite suffering, confusion, and hardship were the result. Many of the clergy utterly refused to comply. Then Gregory called on the princes and laymen to expel the clergy from their positions and to yield them no obedience. Many of the princes were only too glad to obey this decree to the letter. Contemporary writers describe the scene of anguish that followed. Society seemed dissolved; friend betrayed friend; faith and truth were despised; of the married priests some wandered off in hopeless exile; others were mutilated, and were carried around to exhibit their shame and misery; others were murdered. Meanwhile the offices of religion were neglected, and the land was virtually under the horrors of an interdict.¹ The princes and laymen were glad to escape the jurisdiction of their priests, and to seize their property. Sometimes the conflict raged with bloodshed and murder, complicated as it was with the internal dissensions of the empire and the revolt of the princes against the emperor. With this

SIMONY PUN-
ISHED. war against concubinage was waged also one against simony. The clergy were guilty of both, and it must be confessed that although Hildebrand did not entirely succeed in his moral reforms he accomplished large results in enforcing celibacy as a universal law and in checking some outrageous abuses. At any rate the whole machinery of the Church was turned with relentless moral earnestness upon the real or imaginary sins of the clergy.

Gregory's next work was to free the Church from all bondage to the State, or rather to bring the State into bondage to the Church. The great law promulgated by Christ, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's," in which for the first time in history spiritual things are relegated to the spiritual society and temporal things to the State, each to do its own work in mutual friendliness but in entire independence, was unknown in the Middle Ages. Church and State were one in the Roman empire, and in the Christian Roman empire the same condition of things largely prevailed. It came to pass that bishops were feudal lords ruling over men and territories of their own, and the State could not entirely lose its hold upon them. So large were the temporal possessions of the clergy that one fifth of France and one third of Germany were in their hands. They had become

¹ Martene et Durand, *Thesaur.*, i, 230, 231; Sigebert, *Gemblac.*, ann. 1074; Lea, pp. 234, 235.

invested with the rights of duke and count, and, subject only to the kings, were suzerains over the people dwelling on their lands.¹ One of the symbols of their loyalty to the king was the receiving from him on their installation into their spiritual office a pastoral staff or crosier and a ring placed upon the finger. INVESTITURE. This, called investiture, occasioned bitter controversy in the Middle Ages. The suzerains claimed that in this they did not grant any spiritual powers, but simply possession of the temporalities of the office, and, since the clergy were often temporal lords, it would not be fair or safe to leave them without responsibility to the State. But Gregory was determined to do away with this custom, as interfering with the independence and spirituality of the Church, and also as often leading to simony. In 1075 he held a synod in Rome which determined that any ecclesiastic who should accept office from the hands of a layman incurred the penalty of deposition, while the layman should be excommunicated.

Now began that celebrated contest between the emperor and the pope which forms one of the most thrilling incidents of history. It was inevitable that between the two absolutisms a CONTEST BETWEEN GREGORY AND HENRY IV. conflict should arise. In fact, it is not yet ended. The Syllabus of 1864 is a document after Hildebrand's own heart. The divine right of kings is a chimera of yesterday, and the secular governments have long since adopted, though unwillingly, popular representation and constitutional safeguards. But the divine right of the pope is a living tradition, and the supremacy of the Church over all human governments is a fundamental principle of Roman Catholicism. This supremacy found its germ in Augustine's City of God, and was unfolded and expanded to their hearts' content by the popes and canonists of the Middle Ages. Innocent III, who ruled from 1198 to 1216, sums up this magnificent conception in these words: "The Creator has fixed in the firmament of the Church universal two dignities. The greater, the papacy, governs souls as the sun by day. The less, the empire, governs bodies as the moon by night." Gregory himself had a true democratic contempt of kings.

"Who can deny," says Gregory, "that kings and dukes came into existence because that, knowing not God, by robberies and perfidy and murder, in a word, by the commission of every crime under the inspiration of the devil, the prince of this world, they dared, in their blind passion and intolerable pride, to set up as masters over men who were created their equals? And when they seek to make the priests of God bow down to them, to whom can

¹ See Andrews, *Institutes of General History*, p. 159.

they better be compared than to the devil himself, the father of all the children of pride, who, when he tried to tempt the Sovereign Pontiff, the Chief of all priests, the Son of God himself, said, when he showed him all the kingdoms of the earth, 'All these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me?' Can there be any doubt that the priests of Jesus Christ are the fathers and masters of kings and princes and of all the faithful? Shall not a dignity created by men, in an age when they knew not God, be under submission to that which the providence of Almighty God himself has created for his glory and bestowed on the world in his mercy? His Son, whom we believe with undoubting faith to be God and man, who is also the Sovereign Priest, the head of all priests, seated at the right hand of his Father, ever making intercession for us, despised that worldly royalty on account of which those of our day are so puffed up, and took upon him of his own will the priesthood of the cross!"¹

Hildebrand entered upon this controversy with the prestige of his long association with popes, having been secretary of state to five different popes. He had behind him the glorious memories of Leo the Great, Gregory the Great, Nicholas I, as well as the new life brought to the papacy by the German popes under the emperor, Henry III. Besides, Italy hated the empire, and the pope was favored by the Norman and Tuscan principalities, and Henry had to face disunion and rebellion among his own princes. But, more important still, Hildebrand was upheld by zeal, ignorant though it was, for Christ and his Church, and he appealed to great universal principles, which met a response in the conscience of the most devout and learned spirits of his time." On the other hand, Henry had with him the anti-reform party among the clergy, including many of the great bishops of Germany and many of the powerful nobles of Rome and Lombardy. "The same great Roman families who had cursed Henry III allied themselves ardently with his son to annihilate Hildebrand."

The initiative was taken by Gregory. When Henry IV appointed a bishop to a vacant see of Milan in 1071 Gregory appointed another. In 1075 the pope sent his decree concerning investitures to Henry, in which also he excommunicated some of Henry's supposed simoniac bishops. The emperor paid no attention to this. Then Gregory summoned Henry to answer before him in a synod to be held at Rome February 22, 1076, for his crimes and misdemeanors. The king answered this with a counter synod at

¹ Quoted by Villemain, Gregory VII, ii, 64.

² Andrews, Institutes, p. 157.

Worms, January 24, 1076, which solemnly deposed the pope: "Let another ascend the chair of St. Peter, who will not cloak violence with religion, for I, Henry, king by the grace of God, with all my bishops, say unto you, Get down, get down." The dauntless pope paid the king in his own coin. He simply placed Henry under an interdict, and absolved his subjects from their allegiance until he should repent: "Trusting to this [the mediatorship, or binding and loosing power intrusted to him by God], I, in the name of Almighty God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, interdict to King Henry, son of Emperor Henry, the government of the entire German and Italian realm. Because with unheard-of pride he hath lifted himself against the Church, I absolve all Christians from the bond of their oath to him, and forbid them to serve him any longer as king."¹ Unfortunately for Henry, some of the chief princes of his realm were in conflict with him, and they at once withdrew their allegiance, and told Henry he must await the decision of the diet of Augsburg, February 2, 1077, to which the whole matter was referred. They did not wait for this, but at the diet of Tribur, October, 1076, they suspended him from all kingly functions and told him that he would be deposed by February 25 unless he had previously been absolved by the pope. This stunned Henry for the moment. He feared to trust himself to a diet of the empire, and resolved to go to the pope personally and, with his wife and young son, to throw himself on his mercy. He passed Mount Cenis in a most terrible winter. The queen and her lady companions and the children were placed in skins, and so drawn down the mountain by the guides.² He found the pope the guest of Princess Mathilde at her castle of Canossa. There he waited in penitent's garb for three days, January 25-27, 1077,³ when he was received and given a conditional absolution, all the points contended for by the pope being conceded.

Concerning this celebrated humiliation at Canossa the common representation gives a picture of a half-naked man "standing in the snow, fasting and shivering in the icy wind until evening," and this for three days, a "spectacle to move all hearts save that of the representative of Jesus Christ."⁴ "The rising sun," says

¹ See anathema in full in Andrews, p. 162. Many of the documents in this famous controversy, and in similar contests later, are translated in full in Henderson, *Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*, pp. 351-437.

² Vincent, *The Age of Hildebrand*, p. 93.

³ In January, 1877, the Protestant press throughout the world made fitting reference to this incident.

⁴ Vincent, p. 95. See Duruy, p. 242; Milman, iii, 456; Bryce, p. 159.

Stephen, "found him there fasting; and there the setting sun left him stiff and cold, faint and hungry, and drowned with shame and ill-suppressed resentment."¹ This lasted three days. Villemain, who writes in a spirit friendly to Gregory, and with large quotations from contemporary documents, gives a similar picture.² But these brutal accessories are chiefly the creations of a vivid imagination. The real facts are that Henry did not wait three days and nights, but for a few hours each day, not in the snow, but under cover, not shivering, but warmly clad under his penitent's garb, which was simply thrown over his clothing, and that the pope's reluctance to absolve Henry was due to the fact that the matter had been referred to the diet of Augsburg. As to the penance, but was not unusual with kings, as, for instance, Otho I, Henry II, Otho III, Henry III, and St. Louis were publicly flogged.³ But whatever the path, the end reached was the same—Henry's humiliation was complete. In his letter to the German princes, 1077, the pope himself gives the following account, which may have been unconsciously exaggerated in order to show the completeness of his triumph:

THE POPE'S
DECLARATION
ON HENRY'S
HUMILIATION. "The king also before entering Italy sent on to us suppliant legates, offering in all things to render satisfaction to God, to St. Peter, and to us. And he renewed his promise that, besides amending his life, he would observe all obedience if only he might merit to obtain from us the favor of absolution and the apostolic benediction. When, after long deferring this and holding frequent consultations, we had, through all the envoys who passed, severally taken him to task for his excesses, he came at length of his own accord with a few followers, showing nothing of hostility or boldness, to the town of Canossa, where we were tarrying. And there, having laid aside all belongings of royalty, wretchedly, with bare feet and clad in wool, he continued for three days to stand before the gate of the castle. Nor did he desist from imploring with many tears the aid and consolation of the apostolic mercy until he had moved all of those who were present there, and whom the report of it reached, to such pity and depth of compassion that interceding for him with many prayers and tears all wondered indeed at the unaccustomed hardness of our heart, while some actually cried out that we were exercising, not the gravity of apostolic severity, but the cruelty, as it were, of a tyrannical ferocity."

So far Gregory was victor, and this substantially he remained,

¹ Essays in Eccl. Biography, p. 40.

² Gregory VII, ii, 112.

³ Hefele, in *Tübinger Quartalschrift*, 1861; Andrews, *Institutes*, p. 163, J. W. Thompson, in the *Dial* (Chicago), May 16, 1896, p. 309.

as did his successors, until a new age readjusted the relation of Church and State. Henry came out of this experience a new man, sober and resolute. The German nobles had elected Rudolph in his stead. Henry defeated them. Gregory again put him under a ban. Henry again came into Italy, not as a penitent, but as a warrior, besieged Rome four years in succession, and established Guibert of Ravenna on the pontifical throne (1080).¹ On the approach of Robert Guiscard, the Norman Duke of Apulia, Henry returned to Germany. Gregory had fled to Salerno, where he died, May 25, 1085, with the confession of the utter sincerity of his life, moved unselfishly by profound convictions of right: "I have loved justice and hated iniquity; therefore I die in exile."

In a fine passage Sir James Stephen expresses the aim, if not in all cases the actual result, of Hildebrand's life:

"He found the papacy dependent on the empire; he sustained her by alliances almost commensurate with the Italian peninsula. He found the papacy electoral by the Roman people and clergy; he left it electoral by a college of papal nomination. He found the emperor the virtual patron of the holy see; he wrested that power from his hand. He found the secular clergy the allies and dependents of the secular power; he converted them into the inalienable auxiliaries of his own. He found the higher ecclesiastics in servitude to the temporal sovereigns; he delivered them from their yoke to subjugate them to the Roman tiara. He found the patronage of the Church the mere desecrated spoil and merchandise of princes; he reduced it within the dominion of the supreme pontiff. He is celebrated as a reformer of the impure and profane abuses of his age; he is more justly entitled to the praise of having left the impress of his gigantic character on the history of all the ages which have succeeded him."²

STEPHEN'S PICTURE OF GREGORY.

While we cannot refuse the meed of our admiration to Gregory's stern moral enthusiasm, we must remember at the same time that he was fighting against Providence and against the divine order of society. Both his ideal and that of Henry were far from the Christian thought, and the means by which each sought to com-

¹ This Guibert has been made the subject of an exhaustive study by Köhneke, *Guibert of Ravenna*, Leipz., 1888. He maintained his part of the fight with indomitable vigor and perseverance. He kept up his contention under the popes who succeeded Gregory VII; and sometimes he was successful in holding his place in Rome against them. He died in 1100, and miracles were claimed to be wrought at his tomb. These inconvenient manifestations of Heaven's avowal to an antipope were arrested by Paschal II, who dug up his body and threw it into the Tiber.

² *Essays in Eccl. Biography*, pp. 56, 57.

pass his object were selfish, tyrannical, and cruel. Gregory was right in insisting on the holiness of priests, though wrong in his ascetic conceptions of what that holiness meant. Henry was right in insisting on the civil allegiance of the clergy and of their rendering to him homage for their estates. Both were wrong in anathematizing and deposing each other and fighting each other with carnal weapons. Henry's absolutism was tempered by fear of the German princes and of the diet of the empire, and so was less dangerous to mankind than that of the pope, which, resting on an alleged divine revelation and checked by no human restraints, would have brought the world under the paralyzing fear of a perpetual reign of terror, glimpses of which we have actually seen in the sufferings of the French and German clergy and their families on the publication of Gregory's edict concerning celibacy.¹

¹ See some excellent remarks on both aspects of the papal theocracy, in Milman, iii, 497-499.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

FREDERICK BARBAROSSA—FREDERICK II—INNOCENT III—LATER
CONFLICTS BETWEEN CHURCH AND STATE.

THE controversy over investiture reached the usual end of a compromise. The Concordat of Worms in 1122 made the following provisions: The emperor to give up investiture with the ring and pastoral staff, to grant to the clergy the right of free elections, and to restore all the possessions of the Church of Rome which had been seized by himself or his father; on the other hand, the elections should be held in the presence of the emperor or his representative, investiture as to temporal rights might be given by the emperor by the touch of the scepter, and the bishops and other Church dignitaries should faithfully discharge all the feudal duties belonging to their place.

The conflict between Church and State was continued through the Hohenstaufen emperors. Frederick Barbarossa, emperor 1152-90, one of the greatest names of the Middle Ages, carried on a long and fruitless conflict with Alexander III, pope from 1159 to 1181. He was also in controversy at times with Hadrian IV, an energetic and able pope (1154-59). In this connection occurred the incident of the stirrup. To show their reverence for the apostolic see it had been customary for princes when visiting Rome to act as squires to the pope. Frederick refused this service to Hadrian. This enraged the pope, who refused him the kiss of peace after the emperor had prostrated himself and kissed his foot. "Thou hast deprived me of the homage which, out of reverence for the apostles, thy predecessors paid to mine up to our days, nor will I bestow on thee the kiss of peace until thou hast satisfied me." For two days the dispute continued. But Frederick did not wish to put any unnecessary obstacles in the way of his coronation by the pope, whose firmness carried the day. When they met again the king in the presence of the whole army led the pope's horse a little way, and then held his stirrup when he dismounted.¹ This picturesque though menial homage rendered by the holy Roman emperor to the pope—a characteristic act of the Middle Ages—no doubt meant much to the pope. But, after all,

THE STIRRUP
IN HISTORY.

¹ Balzani, *The Pope and the Hohenstaufen*, pp. 35, 36.

Frederick was not inclined to yield everything. When the pope in one of his letters to him referred to his "conferring upon him the distinction of the imperial crown" and receiving "benefices" from the pope's hand—as though the crown was a feudal gift—the emperor replied in brave Teutonic style, in 1157: "The kingdom and the empire are ours by the election of the princes from God alone, who by the passion of his Son Christ subjected the world to the rule of the two necessary swords [the spiritual and the temporal]; and since the apostle Peter informed the world with his teaching, 'Fear God, honor the king,' whoever shall say that we received the imperial crown as a benefice from the lord pope contradicts the divine institutions and teaching of Peter, and shall be guilty of a lie." Rather than have such an imputation cast upon him he "would rather incur danger of death."¹ The pope hastened to assure the emperor that the offensive words, "benefice" and "we confer," were by no means to be taken in any feudal sense, but simply as implying a good deed performed on the emperor by the pope.

The conflict between Frederick and Alexander lasted from 1160 to 1177, and was the longest war ever waged between an emperor and a pope. Frederick espoused the cause of Victor IV, the anti-pope, but his contest was complicated by his enforcement of the imperial claims in Italy over against the new nationalities, republics, and municipalities which were now beginning to arise. In this conflict with the Italian cities he was beaten in the great battle of Legnano, May 29, 1176. He had to make his peace with the pope, who, as we may well suppose, was victor in the struggle.²

We come now to Innocent III, one of the greatest popes who has occupied the pontifical chair. In him the Hildebrandine theory reached its perfect embodiment and complete fulfillment. He, however, only carried out the work of Gregory VII, and built on his foundations. He was born at Anagni in 1160, with princely blood on both sides. His father belonged to the great family of Conti, which has given nine popes to the Roman Church. He was educated in Rome, Paris, and

THE POPE
YIELDING FOR
THE MOMENT.

CULMINATION
OF HILDE-
BRAND'S POL-
ICY.

¹ Henderson, *Documents of the Middle Ages*, pp. 411-414.

² Freeman has thoroughly discussed the Italian wars of Frederick, and has shown how different they were from the Italian wars of Louis Napoleon and Austria. This historian calls Barbarossa the "greatest German who ever set foot on Italian soil" since Charles the Great, and says that, German as he was, he "was the elected, crowned, and anointed [by the pope] King of Italy and Emperor of the Romans, a king whose sovereignty was acknowledged in theory by all Italy, and was zealously asserted in act by a large portion of the Italian nation." Frederick the First, King of Italy, in *Essays*, first series, p. 257, ff.

Bologna. His promotion was rapid, though under the ascendancy of the house of Orsini he was kept in the background. It was during this interval of retirement that he wrote his *De Contemptu Mundi*, a classic of that age, full of learning, breathing profound piety and the spirit of gloom and severity. On the death of the Orsini pope, Celestine III, he was at once and unanimously elected pope, February 22, 1198. He immediately began to make his hand felt throughout every State in Europe. He established his own power in Rome by lessening that of the prefect, who, nominated by the emperor, had represented good government, and thus the pope became the temporal ruler of Rome. Various German princes were driven from Italian soil. As guardian of the young emperor Frederick II he became the real ruler of the kingdom of Naples and Sicily. He interfered with the succession to the imperial crown, though his dealings with the emperor were not his most successful undertakings. He compelled the licentious Philip Augustus of France to take back his lawful wife, Ingeburga, though to do this he had to lay the country under an interdict for nine months.

In Spain and other countries Innocent interfered with equal success. He sent out the fifth Crusade, which took Constantinople, and so brought the eternal dream of a universal papal dominion perilously near to a waking reality. The Latin kingdom of Jerusalem was reestablished, and the Eastern rivals of his claims were reduced for a time to a nullity. He sent his soldiers against the Albigenses, and so on all hands the ground was cleared for the universal dominion of holy Church. In England it seemed as if this dominion was to become a terrible reality. At the time of a dispute over the succession to the archbishopric of Canterbury, Innocent had Stephen Langton elected—an English cardinal at Rome of great piety and learning. John would not receive him. Innocent placed the kingdom under an interdict¹ in 1208. The next year the king was excommunicated, and in 1212 the pope went to the daring length of issuing a bull deposing him from the kingdom, absolving his subjects from their allegiance, and calling upon Philip to see that these fearful sentences were carried into effect. In 1213 John resigned his crown to the pope's envoy at Dover, and agreed to hold the kingdom of England and lordship of Ireland as fiefs of the pope, to whom he promised to pay a thousand marks yearly:

¹ A word must be said concerning this terrible weapon of papal warfare. All the public services of religion were forbidden. The sacraments could be administered only privately and in cases of extreme necessity. The dead were thrown into ditches or buried in the field. To a superstitious age it was the last effort of ecclesiastical terrorism.

"We do offer and fully concede to God and his holy apostles, Peter and Paul, and to our mother, the holy Roman Church, and to our lord Pope Innocent and to his Catholic successors the whole kingdom of England and the whole kingdom of Ireland, with all their rights and appurtenances, for the remission of our own sins and of those of our whole race, as well for the living as for the dead; and now receiving and holding them as it were a vassal from God and the Roman Church."¹

The papacy stood at the pinnacle of its power. Professing boundless allegiance to Christ, it seemed also to have shared Satan's promise of all the kingdoms of the world. At the same time Innocent exerted his immense authority as the "guardian of public and private morality—a steady protector of the weak, and zealous in the repression of simony and the abuses of the time. He prohibited the arbitrary multiplication of the religious orders, but lent all the force of his power and influence to the remarkable spiritual movement in which the two great orders, the Franciscan and Dominican, had their origin." Milman refers to him as a "high and blameless, and in some respects wise and gentle, character, who seems to approach more nearly than any one of the whole succession of Roman bishops to the ideal light of a supreme pontiff, and in whom, if ever, may seem to be realized the churchman's highest conception of a vicar of Christ."²

Innocent died in July, 1216. His success, after all, was largely on the surface. There were deep undercurrents modifying and nullifying his acts. The Middle Age was far along, although, as Sabatier says, he insisted on "treating it as if it were only fifteen years old." In some matters, however, Innocent's efforts were entirely unsuccessful. This is proven by the supreme indifference to papal censures on the part of his pupil, Frederick II.

Frederick II, emperor 1196-1250, was the marvel of his age, an enigma of history. He was the most enlightened, progressive, and liberal man of his times, tolerating Jews and Mohammedans, emancipating commerce, anticipating in this the modern principle of free trade, establishing representative government, advancing learning—himself an accomplished linguist

¹ See this interesting document in full in Stubbs, *Select Charters*, v. 297, and Henderson, *Hist. Documents*, p. 430.

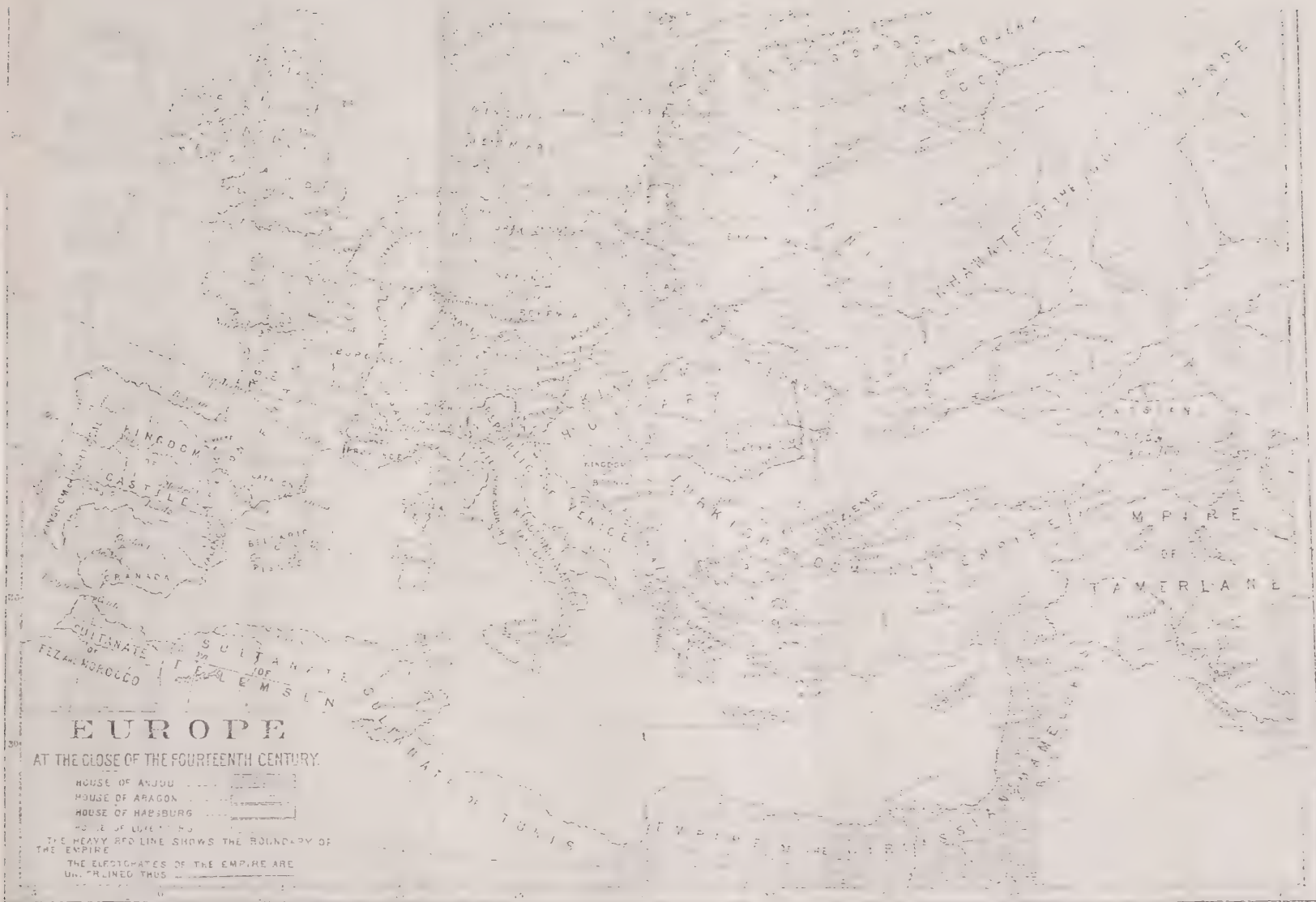
² *Hist. of Latin Christianity*, v. 275. Milman devotes nearly a volume to Innocent, and he has been made the subject of elaborate monographs, as those of Hurter, 4 vols., 1834-1842; Jorry, 1853; Deutsch, 1876; Schooner, 1882; Brischar, 1883.

and philosopher—endowing medical schools, introducing Aristotle and other Greek and Arabic philosophers into Latin literature, fostering sculpture and painting, encouraging letters, himself a pioneer in Italian poetry, forming an immense collection of animals, and himself writing a scientific treatise on falconry. He was a legislator, a connoisseur, a poet, a warrior. The popes quarreled with him. They excommunicated him. They excommunicated him because he did not go on a crusade. They excommunicated him when he did go. When he was successful and returned they excommunicated him again. But their fulminations did not make him move from his course. In one of his replies to these curses he says that the pope's temporal pretensions menace the whole of Christendom with an "unheard-of tyranny," and that instead of rolling in wealth and aspiring to secular dominion the popes ought to cultivate the simplicity and self-denial of the early Christians. His quarrels with the papacy were forced upon him by the popes, whose unerring instinct told them that he represented ideas irreconcilably opposed to theirs. Unfortunately, reverses to his arms and civil war broke his strength, already undermined by the excesses of the harem which he had established in the south of Italy, and premature death took him away before the result of his struggle with the popes was determined.¹

¹ M. Huillard-Brohollos published a magnificent collection of sources for Frederick II, 12 vols., Paris, 1852-61. Freeman has an interesting essay, The Emperor Frederick II, in *Hist. Essays*, 1st series, p. 29, ff. He gives a discussion of his religious position and a fine general estimate.

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CHAPTER XL.

BONIFACE VIII—THE LAST GREAT POPE OF THE MIDDLE AGES
AND THE COLLAPSE OF HIS COLOSSAL SCHEME.

THE chief feature of the history of the papacy from the death of Innocent III, 1216, to the succession of Boniface VIII, 1294, was the breaking of the power of the empire. The great Frederick went down, says Creighton, before the inflexible determination and consummate political ability of Gregory IV and Innocent IV. The spiritual ideal was lost. The popes emulated the rôle of kings, and strained every nerve to become arbiters in matters secular. To break the empire they introduced Charles of Anjou as King of Sicily. But sweet are the revenges of history. The "Angevin influence became superior to that of the papacy, and French popes were elected that they might carry out the wishes of the Sicilian king."¹ The end was the enslavement of the Roman Church to France. Then the taxation necessary to keep up the papal court, the remorseless abandonment of popular rights, of the rights of the clergy, of the rights of the cities, anything in order to keep up this rôle of universal sway, alienated both the clergy and the people from the papal government, and all tended toward that loosening the bonds of the old order which is characteristic of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and which was the prelude to the new birth of the Church at the Reformation.

The abdication of poor Celestine V, 1294, was the symbol of the complete passing of the religious idea of the papacy. Henceforth the papacy must take its place as a political institution. Celestine was an aged monk of Abruzzi, who had finally been chosen to conciliate the factions. But it was soon evident that piety was a poor substitute for statecraft in those seething waters. Good Peter of Murrone, therefore, was induced to abdicate, and Benedetto Gaetani of Anagni (Boniface VIII), an able, astute, WANE OF RELIGIOUS IDEA OF THE PAPACY. cruel, and ambitious politician, arose in his place. He signalized his accession by two needless acts of oppression—the imprisonment of the late pope, which soon caused his death, and the destruction, so far as he could accomplish it, of the powerful family of the Colonnas. This was done with a cruelty

¹ History of the Papacy during the Reformation, i, 25.

and lack of good faith characteristic of a man thoroughly bent on accomplishing his own purposes. But the last act rebounded to his hurt.

Boniface mounted at once to the full conception of the Hildebrandine papacy. With all his astuteness he could not see the drift of the times, but with a boundless self-confidence he threw himself against the tide. He had the boldness to attempt to carry out thoroughly the mediæval Roman Catholic doctrine of Church and State as defined by St. Thomas Aquinas.¹ There was nothing peculiar in Boniface's notions. He stood squarely on the platform of the best theologians of his time.² They all made the State subordinate to the Church, over both of which the pope ruled as God's vicegerent on earth, and to whom the obedience of every living soul was due. Boniface had the courage to make the Hildebrandine ideal a living force in the national and international complications of his time. He first interfered in the war between Edward I of England and Philip IV of France, two of the most rapacious, ambitious, and unscrupulous sovereigns in all history. He commanded a truce. The kings paid no attention to him. The financial necessities created by this and other wars made increased taxation necessary. Both kings lived on the vast clerical wealth of their kingdoms. This sacrilegious infraction of the wealth of God's treasury, as Boniface deemed it, could not be tolerated. He therefore issued his bull, *Clericis laicos*, February 25, 1296, in which he decreed that whoever should levy a tax of any kind on clerical persons, or whoever of the clergy should pay a tax, would be excommunicated.³ To this declaration Edward made answer, "No taxation, no protection." The English clergy were in a desperate strait. Finally, they proposed this compromise: Let a fifth part of their revenue be set apart in some sanctuary or privileged place, to be drawn forth when required by the necessities of the Church or the kingdom. "In this way," says Milman, "the papal prohibition was eluded, and the king remaining judge of the necessity cared not, provided he obtained the money."⁴ Then the war was at hand, and Edward could not afford to alienate an influential portion of his subjects: He confirmed the Great Charter, which acknowledged that the

¹ See St. Thomas Aq., *Regimine principum*; Baumann, *Die Staatslehre des heil. Thomas von Aquino*, Leipz., 1872; Creighton, i, 29, 30.

² Alzog, ii, 624, 625.

³ See this bull in Rymer, *Fœdera*, 2d ed., 1816, vol. i, pt. ii, p. 836; Henderson, *Hist. Documents*, p. 432.

⁴ *Hist. Latin Chris.*, vi, 262.

subject could not be taxed without his consent. Thus the clergy sheltered themselves under the common provision of justice, and took their place with all the people on the platform of general right. In the end this was a victory neither for kingly absolutism nor for clerical immunities.

In France Boniface was also thwarted. Even under the pious king St. Louis an ordinance was passed (1258) securing freedom of election and appointment to churches, and forbidding any tax levied by the popes without the consent of the king and the French clergy.¹ In this case the haughty Philip the Fair replied (1296) by forbidding the exportation of gold and silver in any form or of any article of value, and forbidding also any foreign trading in the land. The pope replied in a long letter, expostulating, conceding, and flattering, yet maintaining inviolate his own ground. The king answered in a document of great power. The laity were as much "the Church" as the clergy. The "liberty" of which the pope spoke so much belonged to the layman as well as the ecclesiastic. "Did Christ die and rise again for the clergy alone?" The liberties which had been granted to the pope "could not take away the rights of kings to provide with the advice of their parliament all things necessary for the defense of the realm, according to the eternal rule: Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's. All alike, clerks and laymen, nobles and subjects, are bound to a common defense." Besides, the clergy have unbounded license to "lavish any expenditure on their dress, their horses, their assemblies, their banquets, their stage players, and all other pomps and pleasures. What sane man would forbid, under the sentence of anathema, that the clergy, crammed, fattened, swollen by the devotion of princes, should assist the same princes by aid and subsidies against the persecution of their foes?" This is treason. "We, like our forefathers, have ever paid due reverence to God; to his Catholic Church, toward his ministers, but we fear not the unjust and immeasurable threats of man."²

This document is a high-water mark in history. It gives notice of a new profession, the lawyers, who were able to contest the supremacy of the clergy on their own ground. It begins with the far-reaching proposition that the temporal power, standing by itself as by divine right, is more ancient than the spiritual, and that "Therefore there were ecclesiastics in the world the kings of France had supreme guardianship of the realm." But the withdrawal of Boniface in this quarrel must not be considered an abandonment of his

¹ *Traité des Droits et Libertez de l'Eglise Gallicane*, i, 46.

² See Milman, vi, 266-275.

principles. He issued another bull, in which he virtually conceded the full right of the king to tax his ecclesiastical feudatories, provided "there was no exaction, only a friendly and gentle requisition from the king's courts." He also showed his friendship to France by canonizing Louis IX. At the close of the war between England and France the matter in dispute was referred to the mediation of Boniface, but only as a private man, not as pope.

So far the lofty scheme of Boniface—the kingdoms of this world as the suzerainty of the pope—did not seem to carry well. Great forces, which he did not have the penetration to measure, were working against him. One of these was the idea of the nation. France, England, Germany, were arising to a national consciousness. They were becoming powerful. The birth of parliaments, the discussion of civil questions, and the exigency of national and political affairs, were releasing the hold of the Church on the State. Then there was the coming of the lawyer to the front. This class opposed law to law, the decree of the emperor to the decree of the pope. It also cited precedent, canons, and laws, and showed how, under both the pagan and Christian emperors, the ecclesiastical power was never allowed to interfere with state affairs. Their influence was most weighty in these conflicts. Boniface did not understand his age, and so he broke himself against it. He was king as well as pope. At his installation two kings led his horse by the bridle, and waited upon him at the table, and in his great centennial festival of 1300 he appeared on one day with the pontifical robe and tiara and on the next day with the imperial mantle and crown.

The vaulting ambition of Edward was intent on attaching Scotland to his crown. The Scots appealed to the pope as their acknowledged liege lord. Scotland, they said, is a fief of the Church of Rome. Boniface responded favorably, and forbade Edward to invade the northern kingdom. His bull, June 27, 1299, is a clear exposition of the full right of the pope to the disposal of Scotland, and contains a peremptory demand upon Edward to surrender his hold there. To meet this Edward summoned a parliament at Lincoln (1301). It was one of the most important assemblies ever held on English soil. It gave the formal answer of the English nation to the lofty claims of Rome. It said the pretensions advanced by the pope were unheard of; that England had always the overlordship of Scotland; that Scotland was never under feudal bonds to the Church; that the King of England is in no way amenable to the pope for his rights over Scotland; that he cannot plead before the court of Rome; that to do so

BONIFACE'S
IGNORANCE OF
HIS AGE.

KING EDWARD
AND SCOT-
LAND.

would be an infringement on the ancient liberties and land of the realm, "to the maintenance of which we are bound by a solemn oath, and which by God's grace we will maintain to the utmost of our power, and with our whole strength."¹ Nothing came of this controversy. Edward proceeded, when ready, to the conquest of Scotland.

We come now to the most famous controversy between Church and State known in the history of the world. It was the last time that these two powers ever met in the open field to fight to a finish. "It was the strife," says Milman, "of the two proudest, hardest, and least conciliatory of men in defense of the two most stubbornly irreconcilable principles which could be brought into collision, with everything to exasperate, nothing to avert, to break, or to mitigate the shock."² The result of such an unnatural conflict on the eve of the modern era could not be otherwise than it was. The pope had various grievances because of Philip's intrusion into the affairs of the Church, his sequestration of Church revenues, and other high-handed acts. He sent his legate to demand justice, but Philip imprisoned him. This led to the issue of bull after bull—several the same year. These were summed up in a famous brief (1300) drawn up probably by some papal ecclesiastic to give to the French people a concise statement of the papal claims. It reads as follows:

"Fear God and observe his commandments. We wish you to know that in temporals and spirituals you are subject to us. The collation of benefices and prebends nowise belongs to you, and if you have the custody of any vacancies you must reserve the fruits of those for the successors. We revoke and declare null any collation or appointment you have made. Whoever believes otherwise is a heretic."³

In the larger bull, *Ausculta fili*, he gave a full list of grievances of the French people and Church against the tyrannies of Philip, and a declaration of the absolute supremacy of the pope in all matters: "God has placed us, unworthy though we be, over kings and kingdoms, in order that we shall root out, destroy, disperse, edify, and plant in his name and by his doctrine. Do not allow yourself to think that you have no superior, that you are not subject to the hierarch of the celestial hierarchy. Who-

¹ See this answer in Rymer, *Fœdera*, under February 12, 1301.

² Hist. Latin Chris., vi, 309.

³ Drumann, in his *Geschichte des Bonifacius*, Königsb., 1853, and other historians have examined the genuineness of this short bull, *Deum time*. They are of the opinion that it is not from the pen of the pope, but a contemporary document, a condensation for popular purposes of the many bulls of that prolific year in papal documents.

ever thinks this is a madman ; whoever supports him in this belief is a heretic." It is unfortunate that the pope's perfectly just arraignment of Philip for his oppressive administration was mixed up with his claims to be the universal arbiter of the destinies of men and nations. It robbed that arraignment of its tremendous moral power.

The king answered in an assembly of the States General held in the Church of Notre Dame, April 10, 1302, in which, for the first time in France, representatives from the common people sat in parliament. This first truly national expression of the French mind gave a decided negative to the papal claim : " To you, most noble princes, to you, our lord Philip, the people of your kingdom present this entreaty and demand, that you shall preserve the sovereign freedom of this State, which will not permit you to recognize as your sovereign on earth, in your temporal affairs, any other than God."¹ The pope met the charge by summoning the French clergy to a council in Rome. The king threatened them with confiscation of goods and imprisonment if they obeyed. Forty-five prelates, however, went to Rome. From this consistory emanated the most famous bull which ever bore the signature of the Pope of Rome—the bull *Unam Sanctam*, November 18, 1302. Much in this bull was old ; it nevertheless for the first time defines with unmistakable precision the absolute supremacy of the pope over all human things. After defining the unity of the Church under the one Lord and Peter and his successors, it says :

" Both swords, the spiritual and the material, therefore, are in the power of the Church ; the one indeed to be wielded for the Church, the other by the Church ; the one by the hand of the priest, the other by the hand of kings and knights, but at the will and sufferance of the priest. One sword, moreover, ought to be under the other, and the temporal authority to be subjected to the spiritual. Spiritual things excel temporal. The prophecy of Jeremiah is verified : See, I have set thee over the nation and over the kingdoms. Therefore if the earthly power err it shall be judged by the spiritual power ; but if the lesser spiritual power err, by the greater. But if the greatest it can be judged by God alone, not by man, the apostle bearing witness : A spiritual man judges all things, but himself is judged by no one. This authority rests back on

¹ See Duray, *Middle Ages*, pp. 375-379. It is sometimes said (Dupuy, *Preuves*, p. 59, Milman, vi, 318) that Philip had the bull *Ausculta Fili* publicly burned in Paris, thus anticipating Luther. But some recent historians now consider this doubtful. See note by G. B. Adams, in Duray, p. 377.

Christ's word to Peter, 'Whatsoever thou shalt bind.' Whoever resists this power thus ordained of God resists the ordination of God, unless he makes believe, like the Manichean, that there are two beginnings. This we consider false and heretical, since by the testimony of Moses, not 'in the beginnings,' but 'in the beginning,' God created the heavens and the earth.¹ Indeed, we declare, announce, and define, that it is altogether necessary to salvation for every human creature to be subject to the Roman pontiff."²

Recent controversies over papal infallibility have made this bull assume a place of vast importance. Berchtold has made it the subject of a careful study.³ He says that every good Catholic must receive it as an article of faith. It is throughout a dogmatic statement, and hence all hope of a permanent peace between the modern State and the Catholic Church must be given up. On the principles which govern infallible decisions, however, this bull takes its place among ordinary papal utterances, such as letters, bulls, encyclicals, and the like. The pope did not represent the universal Church in this decision. It emanated from a consistory of a few French prelates, nor was any attempt made to canvass the universal episcopate to get their witness to apostolic tradition in their sees. And, as Alzog says,⁴ it was intended only for France. The bull in this respect differed in no wise from the numerous papal letters which this French controversy called out. Further, it made no pretense to be given under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost to solemnly define and set at rest any disputed dogma. In fact, there was no difference of opinion among mediæval Catholic theologians on the points mentioned in the bull. The absolute supremacy of the spiritual over the temporal was the first principle of their faith. The bull itself contains quotations and verbal echoes of statements by eminent theologians like St. Bernard, Hugo of St. Victor, and St. Thomas Aquinas, who were held in the highest reverence by all parties in France.⁵ The bull is simply the logical *reductio ad absurdum* of Catholicism.

From such a height great is the fall. Philip again called the States General. William of Nogaret, professor of law at Toulouse, accused the pope of simony, heresy, and other infamous vices. Another lawyer proposed a general council,

BONIFACE IN
DANGER.

¹ This short bull contains two or three specimens of fanciful exegesis thoroughly characteristic of the Middle Ages.

² Latest revision of text, *Revue des Questions historiques*, July, 1889, p. 255. Trans. in full in Henderson, *Documents of Middle Ages*, p. 435. Text also in Dupuy, *Preuves*, p. 54.

³ *Die Bulle Unam Sanctam*, Munich, 1887.

⁴ *Church History*, ii, 626.

⁵ See Alzog, ii, 624-626, notes.

and summoned Boniface to appear before it. This proposition was accepted. William of Nogaret went to Italy, and with the help of Sciarra Colonna entered the pope's palace at Anagni, where he was staying. It seemed as though the Becket tragedy would be reenacted. The soldiers entered the palace with loud cries, "Death to the pope! Long live the King of France!" Boniface, though eighty-six, was yet active. He clothed himself in his pontifical garments, and, with tiara, cross, and keys, awaited his murderers. "Abdicate," said Colonna; "give up the tiara you have usurped." Boniface, with calm fearlessness, replied, "Here is my head, here my neck; betrayed like Jesus Christ, if I must die like him, at least I will die as a pope." Colonna dragged him from his throne, struck him with his iron glove, and would have killed him if Nogaret had not prevented. "O wretched pope," said Nogaret, "consider and see the kindness of my lord the King of France, who in spite of the distance of his kingdom, preserves and defends you through me." The Italians rallied, however, rescued the pope, and conveyed him to Rome, where he soon died, October 11, 1303, in the infinite shame and mortification of wounded pride and a broken heart.

Boniface was the first pope to institute a jubilee. On the first day of January, 1300, immense crowds gathered in Rome on the strength of a rumor that on that day the pope would absolve all who came. When he heard of this Boniface issued a bull, April 22, 1300, inviting all to come to Rome and receive absolution. Two million pilgrims availed themselves of the privilege. People were trampled down in the streets. For the protection of pilgrims a barrier was erected along the middle of the bridge of St. Angelo, thus dividing those going toward St. Peter's and those returning. Dante used this scene to illustrate the two bands of sinners moving in opposite directions in the first circle of *Malebolge*.² Countless money was swept into the pope's coffers. Day and night two priests stood at the altar of St. Paul, with rakes in their hands, raking in the treasure.³ In 1343 the interval of the jubilee was shortened to fifty years; in 1389, to thirty-three years; and in 1470, to twenty-five years.

Opinions have been much divided as to the character of Boniface. His contemporary, Ptolemaeus de Raddonibio, describes him as

¹ Duruy, pp. 378, 379. Milman devotes over one hundred and fifty pages to his epochal reign.

² *Inf.*, xviii.

³ See Vincent, *The Age of Hildebrand*, pp. 415, 416; Plitt in Herzog; Milman, vi, 282-286.

scornful and arrogant. Dante, who had seen the liberties of Florence extinguished by the pope's *protégé*, Charles of Valois, and who had himself been driven into exile, calls Boniface "the prince of modern Pharisees,"¹ the "high priest whom may evil overtake,"² the usurper of St. Peter's place who makes the apostle's burying place run with blood and stench, whose crimes make Heaven blush,³ and represents him as being buried in hell for his guilt of simony⁴—yes, buried head downward, with a ruddier flame than usual licking his feet.⁵ This cruel transfixing of a living man is quite within the possibilities of Dante's remorseless pen. Wiseman, on the other hand, goes too far when he says that in no writer, however hostile to Boniface, do we find any insinuation against his moral character or conduct, and that there is no sign that he was cruel or revengeful.⁶ His treatment of Celestine and of Colonna, however, proves that he was cruel and revengeful. At the same time, while strong exceptions must be taken to individual acts, there can be no doubt, in general, of the purity of his motives, the personal integrity of his conduct, and the conscientiousness of his devotion, according to his light, to the best interests of the Church and the world.

¹ Inf., xxvii, 85.² *Ibid.*, 68.³ *Ibid.*, 22-30.⁴ Parad., xiv, 52.⁵ Inf., xix, 313.⁶ Pope Boniface VIII, in *Essays on Various Subjects*, vol. iii.

CHAPTER XLII.

THE BABYLONIAN CAPTIVITY OF THE PAPACY.

It was left for Benedict XI, 1303-4, to completely annul the proceedings of his great predecessor, restore Philip to all his ecclesiastical rights, revoke the censures on the prelates who did not go to Rome, cancel the bulls of the recent conflicts, restore the Colonna family to their former positions, and reconcile the papacy to the princes. But just as he was preparing for an energetic stroke at the participants of the fray at Anagni he was poisoned. Poisoning was a fine art among those followers of the vicar of Christ. It was arranged how the life of John II was to be taken by poison, as well as that of his successors, Hadrian VI and Clement VII. State poisons were kept in an official box in Venice.¹

The successor of Benedict was Clement V, 1305-14, who bought the tiara by a number of concessions to Philip. Villani describes a dark scene in the depths of the forest of St. Jean d'Angely between Philip and Clement, in which the latter made various degrading promises.² But recent research has thrown doubt on this scene, although none on the reality of Clement's serfdom to Philip. He was crowned at Lyons, and resided first at Bordeaux, where he was archbishop, and then at Poitiers, and finally, 1309, settled at Avignon. Here the pope resided for seventy years, or, more exactly, sixty-eight—from 1309 to 1377. This period of painful and humiliating memories has so impressed itself on the papal historians that they have called it *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church*.³ Philip made Clement begin a process against Boniface, but this went no further than a withdrawal of his bulls and acts of excommunication. He held a general council at Vienne, 1311, in which it became apparent that the civil power was getting the upper hand.⁴ At Avignon Clement lived a brilliant but scan-

¹ Lamansky, *Secrets d'Etat de Venise, a la fin du XV et au XVI Siècle*, St. Petersb., 1894. The registers of Benedict XIII are well edited by Grandjean from the manuscripts recently opened to scholars in the Vatican, *Registers de Benoît XI*, Paris, 1894.

² Hist. Florent.

³ "L'empire Babilonia" is the phrase of Petrarch.

⁴ Ehrle has discovered the acts of this council, and has published them in

dalous life, gathering riches and wasting them on his lusts. Ehrle has investigated his will, and has given an interesting picture of the wealth of the papal court. Clement left 814,000 gulden. A gulden was worth two dollars. Of this sum 300,000 gulden were for a crusade, 314,000 for his servants and relatives, and 200,000 for the poor, for churches, monasteries, and other purposes. He had loaned 313,000 gulden to the kings of France and England, and he left 70,000 gulden to his successor. It cost him 100,000 gulden a year to live, but his income was fully double that amount. Hence he left a fortune of over two million dollars. Ehrle shows that the usual statement that John XXII left an estate of fifty millions is absurd.¹ No wonder that the papacy was sinking into hopeless disintegration!

After Clement V the papal see was vacant for two years. John XXII, 1316-34, tried to reenact with the empire the rôle of Boniface. For this he was deposed by Louis of Bavaria, and an anti-pope elected in his place. This was the pope whom Michael Cesari charged with heresy. William of Occam gave powerful support to his charge, and reinforced his bitter assaults on papal abuses.² It was under his successor, Benedict XII, in 1336, that the vast papal palace, one of the largest buildings in the world, was begun. The building proceeded for sixty years. It covers one and a quarter acres. Valuable paintings at one time adorned its interiors. In recent years this great pile has been restored for ecclesiastical and civil purposes.

Clement VI, 1342-52, continued the papal debauch. He robbed the Church in all directions. With his enormous revenues he supported an establishment of brilliant infamy. What with a sumptuous table, fine horses, splendid pageantries, and beautiful women, the court of Clement rivaled that of Louis XIV and XV in its voluptuous abandonment. Avignon itself he purchased from Joanna of Sicily for eighty thousand florins; and thus, although the pope owned the whole city, it became one vast brothel. The great Petrarch lived in Avignon for some time during Clement's reign, and his letters give a photograph of what he saw.³

INFAMOUS
PAPAL COURT
AT AVIGNON.

Archiv. f. Lit. u. Kirchengeschichte d. Mittelalters, Bd. iv, H. 4, 1888. H. M. Scott gives complaints laid before the council in Cur. Dis., vii, 196.

¹ Ehrle in *ibid.*, Bd. v, H. 1, 1889, and H. 4; Scott in Cur. Dis., vii, 197. On the suppression of the Templars, see below.

² See Müller, Zeitsch. für Kirchengesch., vi, 80, ff.

³ "Tam calidi, tamque præcipites in Venereum senes sunt, tanta eos rotas et status et viriur cepit oblitio, sic in libidines inardescunt, sic in omne ruunt dedecus, quasi omnes eorum gloria, non in cruce Christi sit, sed in commensationibus, et ebriatibus, et quæ hæc sequuntur in cubilibus, impudentis."—Petrarch, Ep., ed. Bas., p. 730.

He says that Satan himself is amazed to see the papal people exceed his instruction with their rapes, incests, adulteries, and lascivious games. To the pope's relatives were given fat offices, and the women of the court handed out the benefices.

Under Innocent VI (1352-62) a halt was called in this carnival of hell. Albert, Bishop of Ostia, a learned and pious man, began the reform. He recalled unlawful grants, sent the clergy who had flocked to Avignon back to their charges, and rebuked the cardinals for their luxurious living. He also sought to influence political affairs to noble ends. Urban V (1362-70) walked in the footsteps of Innocent. Amid a multitude of distressing political complications he resolutely endeavored to advance the interests of the Church. In spite of the remonstrances of his cardinals he resolved to return to Rome, and actually took up his residence there in 1367. As an apparent reward for this he soon had the pleasure of receiving the emperor John Paleologus into the Church. But amid the raging sea of Italian politics he felt ill at ease, and finally consented to return to Avignon, in 1370. Two months later he died.

Gregory XI (1370-78) was the last pope of the Captivity. The papacy seemed hastening toward the rocks. Kings held it in disdain. Italy was in a seething discontent. Gregory saw that he must either rule in Italy or not at all. The holy Catherine of Siena appeared at Avignon and implored the pope to return. Another saint, Brigitta of Sweden, had warning visions. Gregory determined to obey the heavenly voices. The cardinals opposed him, and six of them remained at Avignon. After a tempestuous voyage Gregory landed at Corneto, and in the spring of 1377 he arrived at Rome. No peace, however, came to the pope. The neighboring cities and states were in revolt, and he died broken-hearted, in 1378, even then meditating a return to Avignon.

The seventy years' captivity was one of the causes which broke the spell of the papacy. The tools of the French, and living in licentious abandonment and for worldly ends, popes could no longer be considered divine leaders. Their insatiable rapacity and ingenuity in devising means of extortion created disgust. Students of Aristotle and of civil law were protesting against their abuse of power, and religious enthusiasts were denouncing their crimes. The civil power became more independent. England, France, Germany, and even Italy disregarded the papal mandates. Ominous mutterings, growing louder for fifty years, declared that the vast usurpation, used by Providence for the civilization of the West, must be broken up. Its crimes, its tyrannies, its grievous failure in its stewardship of the nations, were hurrying it to judgment.

BREAKING OF
THE PAPAL
SPELL.

CHAPTER XLII.

THE PAPAL DISRUPTION AND THE HEALING COUNCILS.

It was fitting that the seventy years' captivity should be followed by the forty years' disruption—from 1378 to 1417.¹ Slavery to a French king might well be followed by slavery to faction. The moral disruption which the Avignonese residence so well marked was simply revealed and accentuated by the great schism. That it was still a hundred years before it grew into a permanent cleavage of the Church, proved that God's time was not yet, that He still had work for Rome.

When Gregory XI died the Italians were determined that an Italian should be elected pope, and that he should reside in Rome. Under the influence of their threats the cardinals, the most of whom were French, elected the stern archbishop Brignano of Bari, a Neapolitan. If the new pope, Urban VI, had been conciliatory a schism might have been avoided. But his passionate and domineering behavior intensified the already profound dissatisfaction of the cardinals. They proceeded to a place of safety, and, on the pretext that the former election was not free, they elected Robert, Bishop of Cambray, who took the name of Clement VII. It may be truly said that the ill manners of a pope were a cause of one of the most momentous evolutions of history. "Hold your tongue!" "You have talked long enough!" were common exclamations with him.

The controversy between the two popes has produced a large literature. The consensus of opinion of most modern scholars, Protestant and Roman Catholic, is that the thirteen protesting cardinals had not sufficient reason for their action. As Creighton says, the "formal plea of the dissatisfied cardinals was a mere cloak to political" and personal motives.² At any rate the Church was hope-

¹ Or forty-six years, counting to the death of Benedict XIII, in 1424.

² Hist. of the Papacy during the Reformation, i, 64. The Abbé Gayet is the most recent R. C. partisan of Clement. But his contentions have been seriously invalidated by a fresh study of the documents by M. Valois in *Revue des Questions historiques*, October, 1890. Brann has proven a fresh defense of Urban's validity: *The Schism of the West and the Freedom of Papal Elections*, N. Y., 1891. "Twice they elected him, unanimously crowned him pope, were silent for several months after his coronation, and only when they found

lessly divided, and largely through the political affiliations of the nations. On Urban's side were England, Italy, Bohemia, Germany, Russia, Poland, and Scandinavia; for Clement were France, Scotland, Spain, Lorraine, Sicily, and Cyprus.¹ Many remained neutral. Among the nonpartisans was the University of Paris, which issued many manifestoes looking toward peace.

In the meantime the Church sank lower and lower. The next pope was a shameless miser, and on account of the necessity of keeping up two establishments the Church taxes became still more oppressive. Many noble voices were raised against this *descensus Averno*. One of the most remarkable of these was the book of Nicholas of Clemengis, on the Ruin of the Church, in 1491. Let us hear his voice from out of the center of this period of moral collapse: "Who does not know that this frightful pest of schism was first introduced into the Church by the wickedness of the cardinals, that by them it has been promoted, propagated, and enabled to strike its roots deep? If all kingdoms have been prostrated by injustice and pride, how knowest thou, O Church, when thou hast cast far from thee the rock of humility on which thou wast founded, and hast lifted thy horn on high, that such a fabric of pride, erected by thyself, will not be overthrown? Already has thy pride, which could not sustain itself, begun slowly and gradually to fall, and on this account its fall was not perceived by the majority. But now thou art wholly plunged in the gulf, and especially since the breaking out of this abominable schism. Most surely has the anger of God permitted this to come upon thee as a check to thy intolerable wickedness, that thy domination, so displeasing to God, so odious to the nations, may, by being divided within itself, come to naught."

This author gives a faithful picture of the times. He speaks of the pride of the cardinals, suddenly raised, as some of them were, from the humblest conditions; he speaks of their luxury, their avarice, simony, ignorance, idleness, and scandalous living. The people looked upon them with contempt. The clergy would neither preach nor study the Scriptures. Every pious man was a butt of ridicule to the rest, and looked upon as insane or a hypocrite. Many voices united in demanding a general council to heal the intolerable sore of the Church. Among these voices the University of Paris took the lead.

that he would not be their dupe did they begin to question the legitimacy of his title" (p. 14). Creighton gives a full conspectus of the original authorities in App. 1: The Election of Pope Urban VI (pp. 423-425).

¹ For political reasons, see Milman, vii, 244.

After great pressure the majority of the two sets of cardinals consented to call a council. The pope had usually the power of summoning. But this did not apply to an extraordinary case of urgency. The law of the Church had failed to produce peace, and the wider equity of a council must interpret the law. So argued the University of Paris, and the cardinals accepted this opinion as a justification of their procedure. On March 25, 1409, the council opened at Pisa. The popes were summoned to appear before it. They refused. Charges of contumacy were preferred against them, and after a full hearing these charges were declared true and notorious, and on June 5 both popes were deposed. The cardinals then went into conclave and elected Peter Philargi, a native Crete, who took the name of Alexander V. They had promised to attend also to a thorough reform of the Church, but this work was not undertaken. The pope's health was feeble, and the prelates promised to take up the matter of reform in a future council. The council dissolved on August 5. "The council of Pisa," says Creighton, "was not successful in its great object—the restoration of the unity of the Church. Instead of getting rid of the contending pope it added a third. Gregory XII and Benedict XIII might have few adherents, but so long as they had any the council of Pisa was a failure. This was recognized by the council of Constance, which negotiated afresh for the abdication of Gregory and Benedict. According to the rules of canonists the council of Pisa was not a true council, because it was not summoned by a pope. It was regarded, soon after its dissolution, as of doubtful authority. This was greatly due to its want of success. It did not act wisely or discreetly. From the beginning it overrode the popes, and did not try to conciliate them. Its importance lies in the fact that it was the expression of the reforming ideas which the schism had brought into prominence. It was the first fruits of the conciliar movement, which was the chief feature of the ecclesiastical history of the fifteenth century."¹

On the death of Alexander V, in 1410, the Pisan cardinals elected Balthasar Cossa, who took the name of John XXIII. Nicholas de Clémenges calls him "Balthasar perfidissimus;" and the pope well deserved the epithet. He was a dissipated and unprincipled man, but inexhaustible in shifts and intrigues. It was found that the work of the Pisan council must be done over

THE COUNCIL
AT PISA.

COUNCIL OF
CONSTANCE.

¹ Council of Pisa, in Schaff-Herzog, iii, p. 1844, and in Hist. of the Papacy during the Reformation, i, 222, 223. Mansi has Acts of the Council, vols. xxvi, xxvii. Lenfant gives History, Utrecht, 1712; Amst., 1724. Hefele (vol. vi) gives R. C. view.

² Voight in Herzog-Plitt.

again. Things were going from bad to worse. A real general council must be called. John consented to issue the call, with the emperor Sigismund, hoping the council would confirm him on the throne. It met at Constance, November 5, 1414, to April 22, 1418, and was one of the longest and most imposing religious assemblies ever held. When the next great council met at Trent a large part of the Christian world had fallen away from Rome forever. At Constance the deliberations were conducted by twenty-nine cardinals, three patriarchs, thirty-three archbishops, one hundred and fifty bishops, one hundred abbots, five hundred monks, and more than five hundred professors and doctors of theology and common law. Thousands of the common clergy were also in attendance, and had a voice in the proceedings, as was also true, except on matters of doctrine, of princes and ambassadors of Christian States. It was estimated that eighteen thousand ecclesiastics were in attendance.¹ It was the noble contention of the University of Paris that doctors of law and theology must be introduced into the councils, and the great cardinal Peter d'Ailly had also advocated the rights of the clergy. The illiteracy of the prelates gave point to the petition of the universities.² The council brought with it countless numbers of vagabonds, actors, money-lenders, and four hundred public women.³

Fortunately it was resolved that the delegates should vote by nations, thus giving all parts of the Church equal voice. The council then proceeded to do radical work. D'Ailly carried through a motion that all three popes should abdicate and that a new election should take place. John was deposed, Gregory abdicated, Benedict was deposed, and on November 11, 1417, Cardinal Odo Colonna was elected pope, who took the name of Martin V. Of the three quondam popes John XXIII, the last of the name, was imprisoned, but escaped, fell at the feet of Martin, was made cardinal-bishop of Tusculum, and died in 1419; Gregory XII died in 1417 as cardinal-bishop of Porto; and Benedict XIII lived on his estate at Peniscola, in Aragon, and on that rock he still continued to declare, "Here is the only true Church," until in 1424 he died. In the reformation of morals, however, the council proved abortive. The lower clergy and the monks and professors loudly demanded reforms, and the German nation made a solemn protestation before the council that the Church must be

¹ Dollinger, *Ch. Hist.*, iv, 155.

² Bullæus, *Hist. Univ. Paris.*, iv, 690. "Quia plures eorum prohi pudor! hodie satis illiterati sunt."

³ See the statistical account of an eyewitness in von der Hardt, *Concil. Constant.*, vol. v, pt. ii, pp. 10. ff.

purified.¹ But the abuses, says Voight, "in which the reforms were necessary, such as appeals to the pope and the papal procedure, the administration of vacant benefices, and the commendation of simony, dispensations, indulgences, and the like, were the very sources from which the popes, the cardinals, and the huge swarm of ecclesiastical officials in Rome drew their principal revenues. In fighting against reforms the cardinals fought *pro aris et focis*, and they proved unconquerable." A few decrees were published against simony, but the scantiness of the moral result of this great council in meeting the crying needs of the time made a profound impression, shook the faith of thousands, and helped largely to prepare the way for the Reformation.

SMALL MORAL
RESULT OF THE
COUNCIL.

A famous decree was passed in its fifth session, April 6, 1415, to the effect that an ecumenical council legally called has its power direct from Christ, and that its decrees are binding on all, even on the pope.² As this decree directly contradicts the dogma of the Vatican council papal historians have in various ways tried to minimize or destroy its force. But none of their objections has any validity. They claim, first, that the council was not ecumenical. But, we reply, the council represented the whole Church, and was called by the pope in due form. Hefele acknowledges the ecumenicity of the council. Further, it is held that the decree is limited to the object of ending the schism. To this we answer that no such limitation is expressed. Again, it is said that when Martin V ratified the decrees he excepted, or meant to except, this one. But, we say, there is no evidence whatever for this claim. He ratified whatever had been done by the council as such as opposed to what had been done by committees, nations, and partial meetings. The decree was passed by the entire session, and all modifying considerations like the above are afterthoughts. And when the council of Basel reenacted this decree Pope Eugenius IV gave to the doings of the council his solemn approval.³ And, as a matter of fact, the Roman Cath-

¹ For this great challenge, see von der Hardt, iv, 1424.

² "Hæc sancta synodus in Spiritu S. legitime congregata, generale concilium faciens, ecclesiam catholicam militantem representans, potestatem a Christo immediate habet; cui quilibet ejusdemque status vel dignitatis, etiam si papalis existat, obedire tenetur in his que pertinent ad fidem, et extirpationem dicti schismatis, et generalem reformationem ecclesie Dei in capite et membris."—Von der Hardt, iv, 88.

³ Fisher conclusively replies to Hefele. See his Discussions in History and Theology, N. Y., 1890, pp. 105-109 (Essay on the Council of Constance). See also Creighton, vol. i, app. 15. The decrees of the council had an early defender in Emmanuel Schelstrate, a canon of Antwerp, in his Acta Conc. Constantiensis, 1683, and Tractatus de Sensu et Auctoritate Decretorum Constantiensis Concilii, 1686.

olic Church, by accepting the results of the council—namely, the deposition of the three popes and the electing of another—has given this decree all needful validity. The supremacy of the council over popes, and even its independence of them, was implied in the whole situation. This, too, the Church accepted. Indeed, it had no alternative.

And thus the disruption was externally healed. But the corruptions which were eating at the heart of the Church had not yet been touched. To abate these the Western prelates met at Basel, on July 23, 1431. But they had a stormy and unsatisfactory session. The pope and the curia eyed them with alarm. The council reaffirmed the decrees of Constance subordinating all ecclesiastical authority to that of a general council, and made other lofty claims. At one time Pope Eugenius acknowledged those claims, but at another time he repudiated them. Finally, he called a counter council at Ferrara, September 18, 1437. Then Basel deposed him. But the cause of reform was hopelessly doomed. Eugenius bribed the chancellor of the emperor, and his secretary as well, Æneas Sylvius, and Germany declared for the pope. When Eugenius died, in 1447, the council recognized his successor, Nicholas V, and adjourned on April 25, 1449. It left the pope supreme, the old abuses still untouched, and the glorious war-cry of many a saint and ecclesiastical statesman and religious teacher, "The reformation of the Church in head and members," was postponed to a more favored age. Those who proposed the only real means of such a reformation, in a return to the purity of the Gospel in life and doctrine, were condemned to death even by these reformatory councils.¹

¹ For proceedings of council of Basel, see Mansi, xxix-xxxi. The original journal of the proceedings of the council of Basel has recently been discovered, and a series of texts and studies, *Concilium Basiliense: Studien und Quellen zur Geschich. des Concils von Basel*, vol. 1, edited by J. Haller (1431-7), Basel, 1896, is being issued under the auspices of the Hist. and Antiq. Gesellsch. of Basel.

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CHAPTER XLIII.

THE CRUSADES.

NOTHING was more foreign to the temper of early Christianity than reverence for sacred places. Nowhere in the apostolic writings is there a trace of consciousness of regard for the places associated with the life of our Lord. In fact, Christ himself forbade all such superstition by his famous charter of spiritual worship.¹ Nevertheless, as time went on, it became natural to journey

"In those holy fields
O'er whose acres walked those blessed feet,
Which fourteen hundred years ago were nailed
For our advantage on the bitter cross."²

One of the earliest manifestations of that natural longing to visit the Holy Land was shown by Constantine and his mother, Helena, who built splendid churches over the natal cave of Christ in Bethlehem and over his sepulcher in Jerusalem. Subsequently pilgrimages became frequent, the pilgrims being lionized on the way, and looked upon as heroes on their return. The first break in this peaceful movement was the Persian conquest of Palestine in 611, which was followed by the Arab conquest under Omar, in 637. The Mohammedans mingled some toleration, however, in their hard terms. The Christians were to build no new churches, nor exhibit the cross on buildings or in processions, nor possess weapons. But they were to be safe in their persons and fortunes, and undisturbed in the exercise of their religion and the use of their churches. And for four centuries the flow of pilgrims went on under the reluctant toleration of Islam.

But the ruthless incursion of the Turks, a new horde on the field of history, changed all that. They had, indeed, been converted to Islam, but that left them what they have ever since remained—barbarians, the polygamists of the ages, an essentially alien element in the civilization of western Asia and Europe. In 1076 they were masters of Palestine, and soon afterward of all Asia Minor. Then began those falsehoods, exactions, robberies, murders, which from that day to this have been an invariable accompaniment of Turkish rule. It required men of the bravest heart even to attempt a

¹ John iv, 20-24.

² Shakespeare, *Henry IV*, pt. i, act i, sc. i.

pilgrimage, and the indignities and cruelties practiced upon the pilgrims and the insults offered to the holy place sent wave after wave of horror and indignation over Europe.

The idea of a crusade for religion was familiar to Europe by the attempts made to drive the Moors from Spain. The Duke of Burgogne and the Duke of Chalon went over to Spain, urged by Hildebrand, and in 1079 Chalon fell in the crusade. "We find the knightly romance, the selling all to go on a crusade, the vows, the adventures, filling the early part of the eleventh century with holy wars against Spanish infidels"—all the characteristics with which the Holy Wars of Palestine have made us familiar. This Spanish Crusade went on until the end of the thirteenth century parallel with the crusade proper.¹ As far back as the beginning of the eleventh century the lofty mind of Gerbert—Sylvester II (999-1002)—conceived the idea of Europe uniting to restore the Sepulcher to Christian hands.² Hildebrand (1073-85) urged the same scheme, though unsuccessfully. It was left to Urban II to set in motion those invasions of the East which form so characteristic a feature of mediæval history, and which, largely futile in their immediate purpose, nevertheless left permanent marks on the civilization of the world. At the council of Clermont, on November 26, 1095, he delivered an address which, though equaled by many in eloquence and fire, has, as Wilken says, surpassed all other orations in its wonderful results:³

"You must show the strength of your righteousness in a precious work which is not less your concern than the Lord's. For it behooves you to hasten to carry to your brethren dwelling in the East the aid so often promised and so urgently needed. For the Turks and the Arabs have attacked them, as many of you know, and have advanced into the territory of Romania as far as that part of the Mediterranean which is called the Arm of St. George [the Hellespont]; and, having penetrated farther and farther into the country of those Christians, have already seven times conquered them in battle, have killed and captured many, have destroyed the churches and devastated the kingdom. If you permit them to remain for a time unmolested they will extend their sway more widely over many faithful servants of the Lord.

¹ See *Petit Croisades Bourguignonnes contre les Sarrasins d'Espagne au XI^e Siècle*, in *Revue Historique*, 1886, p. 11; *Cur. Dis.*, iv, 179, 180.

² Ep. 219, quoted in Emerson, *Mediæval Europe*, p. 158.

³ *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, 7 vols., Leipz., 1807-22. The eighth centennial of the preaching of the first crusade was celebrated with appropriate ceremonies and speeches at Clermont in May, 1895.

"Wherefore I pray and exhort, nay, not I, but the Lord prays and exhorts you, as heralds of Christ, at all times to urge men of all ranks, peasants and knights, the poor equally with the rich, to hasten to exterminate this vile race from the land ruled by our brethren, and to bear timely aid to the worshipers of Christ. I speak to those who are present, I shall proclaim it to the absent, but it is Christ who commands. Moreover, if those who set out thither lose their lives on the journey, by land or sea, or in fighting against the heathen, their sins shall be remitted in that hour; this I grant through the power of God vested in me."¹

Among those who fanned popular enthusiasm was Peter of Amiens, a little monk who went through the south of France preaching a crusade. He has usually been represented as the originator of the first crusade, the fiery preacher PETER OF AMIENS. whose eloquence stirred all Europe, and that it was his representations to the pope and the force of his personal appeals which gave life to the whole movement. But this popular idea is now completely abandoned. It is founded on the fiction of William of Tyre, who wrote one hundred years after the time. Contemporary accounts know nothing of Peter as the chief agent of the crusade. Von Sybel was the first to throw doubt on the tradition concerning Peter the Hermit, and Hagenmeyer, by an exhaustive investigation, pulverized that fine tradition. Peter was never in Palestine before the crusades, he did not incite Urban, did not speak at Clermont, did not stir Europe by his preaching, which was limited to a few months and a small part of southern France, and he was not the immediate cause of the crusade.² Yet as he rode through the country on an ass carrying with him a great crucifix, and dramatically appealed to the feelings of the people, there can be no doubt that Peter's part was not small in imparting an impetus which carried the French warriors to the Levant.

¹ Munro, *Urban and the Crusades*, in *Original Sources of European History*, i, 2, pp. 4, 5. The speech quoted above is Urban's at the council, as quoted by Fulcher, a contemporary, and is reprinted in Bongars, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, i, 382, 383. The promise of remission of sin made by the enthusiastic pope went far beyond his province, according to Roman theology. But that promise wrought havoc, as the sequel shows.

² Von Sybel, *Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzuges*, 1841; Hagenmeyer, *Der Hermit der Ermite*, Leipz., 1879; Munro, in *Original Sources* (Univ. of Pa.), i, 2, 2; Schaff, in *Presb. Rev.*, i, 181; Archer and Kingsford, *The Crusades*, Lond. and N. Y., 1895, p. 26. Cox gives the traditional view. Although his book was written before the appearance of Hagenmeyer's, and so may be excused for misrepresenting the Hermit, yet it does not appear to be founded on any critical study of the sources.

Many favors were granted the crusaders. The journey to the Holy Land itself stood for them in place of penance. Their family and their property were under the protection of the Church. No lawsuit should put their possessions in danger. Those in debt were to pay no interest. If away more than a year they were to pay no taxes. "We grant to all who undergo the difficulties in their own person and at their own expense full remission of the sins of which they have truly repented with contrite hearts and which they have confessed with their mouths, and at the retribution of the just we promise an increase of salvation."¹ For those who were left behind the truce of God suspended all hostilities for four days of the week, and the women, the clergy, and others whose occupations prevented them from bearing arms were placed under the special protection of the Church. Anyone who molested them incurred the special curse of the pope. But motives were not lacking to the crusaders: For the devout there was the consciousness of a service nobly done for the Master; for the warlike there was a fierce pastime in which all his baser passions could find full scope without the loss of his soul; there was also the prospect of permanent conquest and new dominions for those who loved to rule; and for the sinful there was an easy method by which they could atone for the vices of a lifetime.²

We must leave the secular historians to give an adequate account of these wars of religion. Some reckon nine crusades, others seven or eight. But reckoning of this kind is largely artificial. The crusades were a continuous effort to rescue the Holy Land from the Saracen. Between the special expeditions fitted out under imposing auspices there was a "continuous ebb and flow of European enthusiasm and courage to and from the East."³ Of these greater efforts we present a survey.

The first crusade (1096-99) was the greatest and, in some respects, the most successful. The old chroniclers said in their enthusiasm that six million people were in motion toward Palestine. Probably two hundred and seventy-five thousand would be nearer the truth—that is, for the first great current. "The most distant islands and savage countries," says William of Malmesbury, "were inspired with this ardent passion."

¹ Privileges granted by the Fourth Lateran Council, 1215, in *Mansi*, xxii, 1057, ff., and *Wilken*, vi, *Boilage* ii, *Transl.* in *Munro*, *l. c.*, p. 12. Innocent III is not so nearly universal in his grant of remission as Urban.

² Cox, *The Crusades*, p. 33.

³ Emerton has called attention to this: *Medieval Europe*, p. 358.

The Welshman left his hunting, the Scotchman his fellowship with vermin, the Dane his drinking party, the Norwegian his raw fish. There was no regard to relationship; patriotism was held in light esteem; God alone was placed before their eyes."¹ The first who set out were two or three sections of rabble—a motley crowd of men, women, and children, under Walter the Penniless, Peter the Hermit, and the priest Gottschalk. After infinite sufferings these were easily cut to pieces before the plains of Nicæa. Then came the real crusaders—six armies, marching separately, and at considerable intervals of time. These, perhaps six hundred thousand men, were under the command of some of the noblest knights of the time. After many reverses, under which this magnificent army melted away, Antioch was taken on June 3, 1098, and put to the sword, and the next year the miserable remnant set siege to Jerusalem. On the 15th of July, 1099, Jerusalem surrendered, the inhabitants were ruthlessly massacred, and Latin kingdoms were set up at Edessa, at Antioch, and at Jerusalem.

After fifty years these kingdoms were threatened with destruction. Then, under the preaching of Bernard of Clairvaux, the second crusade set out. Two enormous armies, under Louis VII of France and Conrad III of Germany, marched for the Holy Land in 1147. This promising expedition proved a total failure. Through treachery Conrad's army was destroyed by the Turks near Iconium, while Louis's was wrecked in the Pisidian defiles.

In October, 1187, the brilliant young Kurdish chief, Salah-Eddin (Saladin), captured Jerusalem. Then the three greatest kings of the West—Frederick Barbarossa, Philip Augustus, and Richard the Lion-Hearted—united in the third crusade, in 1189-92. The story of this crusade is one of the most romantic in history. It resulted in a complete victory for neither Turk nor Christian. But all Christians were to have the right to make their pilgrimages untaxed and unmolested.

The fourth crusade (1197), under the banner of Emperor Henry VI, was a failure. The fifth crusade, sometimes called the fourth, in 1203-4, turned aside to Constantinople and fought against Christians instead of infidels. It was successful. Constantinople surrendered to Baldwin of Flanders, April, 1204, and all kinds of profanities and excesses were committed by the intoxicated soldiers. This forms one of the darkest blots in the history of Latin Christendom. "How," ask the popes, "shall the Greek Church return to ecclesiastical unity and to respect for the apostolic see when

¹ *De Gestis Regum*, iv, 2. Commentators note the Englishman's prejudice in his contemptuous reference to the Scots.

they have seen in the Latins only examples of wickedness and works of darkness, for which they might justly loathe them worse than dogs?" Innocent III put the matter very mildly. Pears, the excellent historian of this crusade, justly held that the seizure of Constantinople by the Latins was the greatest crime of the Middle Ages, for it was the first step toward the overthrow of the Greek and the introduction of the Turkish power in Europe.¹

The sixth crusade (1228), conducted single-handed by the liberal-minded emperor Frederick II, terminated without a blow by a treaty, in which Jerusalem, Jaffa, Bethlehem, and Nazareth were ceded to the Latins, the Mosque of Omar alone remaining in the hands of the Moslems. But this magnificent result could not atone for the emperor's breadth of view, worthy of the nineteenth century; and as the pope, Gregory IX, had excommunicated him for his tardiness in embarking in this crusade, so now he cursed him for the treaty and for his return.

The seventh crusade (1240) was led by Richard of Cornwall, brother of Henry III, who trod in the footsteps of Frederick, and sought by negotiations to do what the sword had failed to achieve. He succeeded. Palestine was virtually in the hands of the Christians. But unfortunately the hordes whom Genghis Khan was driving before him swept down on the unhappy country in 1242, and, after a brief holocaust of blood, undid the work of centuries.

The eighth and ninth crusades (1248-50, 1270-91) were the efforts of Louis IX of France and Prince Edward of England to win the vantage ground once more. But everybody had lost heart. Town after town capitulated. The Templars and other military orders were glad to leave the country, and the Saracens were at the end, as at the beginning, masters of the country.

Certain characteristics marked all the crusading movements. One was the ferocity and the cruelty with which the Christians, and, of course, the Moslems, carried on the wars. The unspeakable barbarity of the conquering party seems incredible. The selfishness, jealousy, and disunion among the Christians were another characteristic. For instance, the Templars and the Hospitalers came to a pitched battle in 1259, from which scarcely a Templar escaped alive. The crusaders frequently demonstrated themselves unworthy of their success. Then, there were no statesmanship, no grappling with the real problem of the situation, no attempt at a permanent standing ground for the Christian and Moslem settlers of Palestine. The whole movement was, finally, a prolific breeding

¹ Pears, *The Fall of Constantinople: The Story of the Fourth Crusade*, N. Y., 1886.

ground for fanaticisms. The Pastoreaux, or shepherds, thought they had a divine call to liberate Louis IX when he was a prisoner in Egypt, in 1251. But when they began to maltreat the priests, the monks, and the Jews, the military had to cut them down. More pathetic was the Children's Crusade, 1215, organized as a protest against the lust and cruelty of the crusaders. "A little child shall lead them"—but in the ways of gentleness and love, not of war and hate. Gray has told the sad story of failure.¹ The boy Stephen led thirty thousand children, who were encamped around Vendome. As many as ten thousand were lost or strayed before they had reached Marseilles, and the five thousand who sailed, meanwhile chanting the hymn "Veni, Creator Spiritus," found themselves in the slave markets of Algiers and Alexandria. More fortunate were the two hundred thousand German boys and girls who left Cologne. Those who sailed for Palestine were never heard of, but the larger number returned home or settled in or around Genoa, where many of them founded families of distinction.²

Guizot has finely stated the results of the crusades.³ Recent historians have not added to his discriminations. Speaking now of the religious influence, there was, on the one RESULTS OF
THE CRUSADES. hand, an increase in the power of the pope, who loomed up as the one central authority who alone could call forth those vast armaments and invest them with sacred sanctions, and there was, on the other hand, an undermining of his power and a neutralizing of the papal spell by the broadening of mind and widening of interests. Men came in contact with civilization in some respects superior to their own, and with men equal to themselves in chivalry, generosity, and charity. A remarkable illustration of this catholic tendency is seen in the difference between the tone of the reference to the Moslems in the earliest chronicles of the crusades and that of the later chronicles. In the first the Moslems are spoken of with unmitigated hatred, in the last with appreciation and sometimes with eulogy. The later historians "sometimes even go the length of placing the manners and sentiments of the Mussulmans in opposition to those of the Christians; they adopt the manners and sentiments of the Mussulmans in order to satirize the Christians, in the

¹ Gray, *The Children's Crusade*, Boston, 1872; 11th ed., N. Y., 1896.

² An instructive comparison of the insanity of some of these crusading movements with the blind impulses toward war which sometimes seize modern nations is carefully drawn by the Nation, N. Y., February 13, 1896, in an editorial on "National Insanity."

³ Hist. of Civilization in Modern Europe, i, 180-188 (ed. Hazlitt and Henry); Emerson, pp. 388-397; and Adams, *Medieval Civilization*, N. Y., 1894, pp. 258-278, give excellent views of results.

same manner as Tacitus delineated the manners of the Germans in contrast with those of Rome."¹ There can be no doubt that the crusades worked indirectly and silently but powerfully toward the emancipation of the mind. Then, the crusades were the opportunity of the layman. Though started by clerical zeal, they were kept up by lay resources and brought to an issue by lay generalship. These laymen founded a kingdom in Jerusalem, with laws more liberal and just than any hitherto known in history. And this kingdom enjoyed a peace and prosperity for ninety years exceeding that of any contemporary nation. Through travel men became familiar also with Rome and her corrupt court, and all this intercommunication of ideas and first-hand knowledge of the world tended to make men restive under the clerical yoke and in the end helped to bring in the modern era. The death of feudalism, the growth of nationalities, the creation of modern commerce, a glimpse of Arabic and Greek learning, to all of which the crusades ministered, furthered mightily the same result.²

¹ Guizot, *ibid.*, p. 182.

² In an editorial, "The Centennial of the Crusades," in the *Nation*, May 25, 1895, p. 396, a parallel is drawn between the condition of Palestine under the crusades and that condition to-day. One difference between the two ages is that "in the earlier Europe received more from Syria than she gave, the learning of the East, its arts and sciences. Now she is paying the debt. She has given it a literature, by translation of the Bible and other works into Arabic, while Western civilization, with its potent adjuncts of steam and electricity, is already changing the face of the land."

CHAPTER XLIV.

THE MILITARY ORDERS.

A most characteristic feature of the Middle Ages is the career of the military orders. There were three : The Templars, the Hospitallers, and the Teutonic Knights. In 1119, two comrades of Godfrey de Bouillon—Hughes de Payen and Geoffroi de Saint-Nohimar—with seven other French knights, bound themselves to protect pilgrims on their journeys in the Holy Land. For this purpose they took before the Patriarch of Jerusalem the vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience. It was a consecration of militarism to Christ, the reception of the soldier as such into a monastic brotherhood. King Baldwin II gave them quarters in his own palace, which was built on the site of the temple of Solomon, near the Church of the Holy Sepulcher. Hence they took their names of Templars, *Pauperes commilitares Christi templeque Salomonici*—Poor fellow-soldiers of Christ and of Solomon's temple. Their houses were called the Temple. In London, their celebrated church, the Temple Church, consecrated in 1185, was restored in 1839-42 by the lawyers of the Middle and Inner Temple¹ at a cost of £70,000.

The knights took their vows either for life or for a certain period. Their discipline was austere, forbidding all worldly pleasures, and enjoining simplicity in food and dress. The eight-pointed red cross on a white mantle was worn over the shoulder. On their glorious war banner, *haubant*, half white, half black, were the words, "Non nobis, non nobis, domine, sed nomini tuo da gloriam"—"Not to us, but unto thy name, O Lord, give the glory!" They always carried about with them an altar and a portable chapel. Like the Jesuits they were devotees of the Church, sworn to defend the defenseless from the Moslem, and were never known to fear in battle or fail before a foe. From the beginning to the end of their two centuries of history they were never charged with cowardice.

In 1172 the Templars were made independent of bishops, and brought under the authority of the pope alone. They were allowed to have chaplains in their own ranks, to whom they might confess.

¹ So called because these lawyers and law-students occupied the old Templar quarters in London, and worshiped in their church.

and they enjoyed exemption from all taxes and tithes and interdict. They enjoyed the right of sanctuary, and often acted as a safe deposit company for kings and princes.¹

It is no wonder that wealth poured in on them, that many nobles joined them, and that at last, when their work was done and they had outlived their usefulness, they excited the cupidity of one of the most unscrupulous and cruel kings known to history, Philip the Fair of France. He had in Clement V a creature of his own, and ready to do his bidding. Philip had exhausted every means of obtaining more money, and the riches of the Templars offered a temptation too strong to resist. Dollinger says: "It was the general opinion of the time that a covetous desire for the property of the order formed the king's chief motive, as all the contemporary chronicles in Germany, in Italy, and especially in France itself, openly and covertly express this conviction, which is confirmed by the whole course of events."² The same historian shows also from recent documents that Philip's continual demand upon Clement to condemn Boniface VIII was bought off by the pope consenting to unite with him in the suppression of the Templars. "As often," he says, "as Clement showed signs of hesitation or delay in the matter of the destruction of the Templars, as often as he betrayed any scruples, or showed even an inclination to grant the Templars a hearing, so often did Philip and his legal advisers apply this special means of pressure, and always with unfailing result."³

The charges preferred against them were such infamies as denial of Christ, spitting upon the cross, the worship of hideous images, sorceries, unnatural lusts, and similar indecencies. By the horrible methods of the Inquisition, to whom the judicial process was turned over, whatever the judges desired the prisoners to confess was extorted from them. Renegades from the order, or those expelled for crime, or even good Templars under the tortures of the rack, made the necessary confessions. Such confessions could not be retracted under the penalty of burning to death—such was the infinite refinement of the cruelty and the perversion of justice which were guaranteed by the Holy Inquisition. Under this act on May 12, 1310, fifty-four knights were slowly burned to death, refusing in the midst of the most awful agonies to perjure themselves by false confessions. In 1312 the pope

¹ See a full and scholarly treatment in the last edition of Chambers's *Encyc.*, s. v., Edinb., 1893.

² The Suppression of the Knights Templar, in *Historical and Literary Addresses*, p. 207.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 218.

formally suppressed the order. On March 19, 1314, Jacques de Molay, the Grand Master, and the "gray-haired Geoffrey de Charney, Master of Normandy, were brought from ^{suppression} prison to receive judgment, when, to the dismay of the ^{OF THE ORDER} churchmen and the astonishment of all, they rose and solemnly declared their innocence and the blamelessness of the order. That same day on the Isle des Juifs, in the Seine, they were slowly roasted to death, declaring with their last breath that the confession formerly wrung from them by torture was untrue. A strange tradition asserts that from the stake the grand master summoned both the pope and the king to meet him at the bar of Almighty God within a year, and history tells us that within the year both went to their account." The property of the order for the most part was given to the Hospitalers, and even in France the king was forced by public opinion to forego a part of his prey.¹

In 1308 a bull from the pope ordered the arrest of all the Templars in England. This was instantly obeyed, but without the horrible circumstances connected with the affair in France. Various examinations were held, but nothing was elicited. Finally, under torture,² some preposterous admissions were made which gave the pretext for the suppression of the order. All who confessed were set at liberty, and those who maintained the innocence of the order were imprisoned in monasteries for life.³ In Spain, Portugal, Germany, and in all Italy except in the case of six at Florence, the charges broke down and the order was found innocent.⁴

¹ It must not be supposed that the kings were not enriched from the spoil of the Templars. The Hospitalers were compelled to redeem the Templars' property from the kings with large sums of money. The effect was that the Order of St. John was impoverished instead of enriched by these enforced benefactions. In fact, as Sismondi says: "Before giving up these goods to the religious orders the sovereigns universally enriched themselves by sequestering them." *Hist. Repub. Ital.*, iii, 181:

² The king at first would not permit torture to be used, but at last, under direct pressure from the pope, it was permitted.

³ The Suppression of the Templars in England, in *Church Quar. Rev.*, April, 1890, pp. 84, ff.

⁴ One of the charges was that, although laymen, the Templars gave absolution. In reply to this the Grand Master of England, William de la Mere, explained that in receiving again a sinning brother the form was to strike him three times with a scourge, and then say to him, "Brother, pray to God to remit thy sins." He had never used the form, "I absolve thee." Lea has given a thorough investigation of this in his article, *The Absolution Formula of the Templars*, in *Papers of the American Society of Church History*, vol. v (N. Y., 1893), pp. 37, ff. He shows that, with the entire consent of the Church, the Templars for a long time confessed to the whole chapter, and received absolution in the ordinary terms from the master. It was not until 1260 that the

The question of the guilt or innocence of the Templars is one of the vexed questions of history. It must be confessed, however, that an impartial judgment of the fierce Inquisitional trial by torture allows no weight to its findings. This is steadily coming to be the final judgment of historians. It is true, indeed, that Hans Prutz,¹ Ranke,² though halting and cautious, Hammer-Purgstall,³ Weber,⁴ Michelet,⁵ Dareste, Vini,⁶ and others have received the almost universal opinion of contemporaries that the order was corrupt either in life or doctrine or both, and to a greater or less degree. On the other hand, those who have made the Templars the subject of earnest investigation, like Conrad Schottmüller,⁷ who went into the matter with great thoroughness, Döllinger,⁸ who studied the subject many years, the French historians—many of the earlier⁹ and nearly all the later—like Vaisette, Villaret, Le Jeune, who wrote a detailed work, Raynouard,¹⁰ who wrote a brilliant defense, Mignet, Guizot, Renan, Boutaric,¹¹ Lavocat, Bonnaehose and H. de Curzon,¹² Fumagalli—a Cistercian, and therefore a notable witness—

formula, *Ego te absolvo*, was introduced into the Church. After 1163 the order was allowed by Alexander III to receive priests. Lea proves that this charge concerning absolution was a *brutum fulmen*. "It betrays a consciousness of the flimsiness of the graver accusations in the eagerness with which one was brought forward based upon the theological subtilties that at the same time were still under debate by the schoolmen." P. 58.

¹ *Entwicklung und Untergang des Tempelherrenordens*, Berlin, 1838. Prutz also wrote *Geheimlehren und Geheimstatuten des Tempelherrenordens*, Berlin, 1879.

² *Weltgeschichte*, 8th part, 1887, pp. 621, ff.

³ *Die Schuld der Templer*, 1855. Ranke follows this author in thinking that the order had adopted a body of secret and heretical doctrines from the East.

⁴ *Weltgeschichte*, Leipz., 15 vols., 1859-81.

⁵ *Procès des Templiers*, 1841-51.

⁶ *Dei Tempieri e del loro processo in Toscana*, in *Atto dell' Accademia Lucchese*, vol. xiii (1843). Even this piece Döllinger examined. It appears from Vini that the rack was employed in the examination in Florence.

⁷ *Der Untergang des Tempelherrenordens*, 2 vols., Berlin, 1887.

⁸ *The Suppression of the Knights Templars*, in *Historical and Literary Addresses*, transl. by Warre, Lond., 1894.

⁹ Under the strict supervision of the press it was with difficulty the earlier French writers expressed an opinion at variance with what might be considered the voice of the French Church, ratified by the pope, at the Council of Sens, 1310.

¹⁰ *Monumens Historiques relatif à la Condamnation des Chevaliers du Temple*, Toulouse, 1813.

¹¹ *La France sous Philippe le Bel*, Paris, 1861. This unanimity of experts in the only country where the order was condemned by the so-called confessions is remarkable.

¹² *La Règle du Temple*, Paris, 1886.

Cantu and Cibrario,¹ Froude,² and Lea,³ whose scholarly researches are entitled to great weight, are convinced of the innocence of the order. It is noticeable that the order was never formally condemned, and in his bull of suppression, April 13, 1312, the pope alleges only the public scandal caused by the charges, and, pending more definite results, dissolves the order provisionally. The truth seems to be that the Templars, like all the monastic brotherhoods, had become more or less corrupt, and as they had long outlived their usefulness their suppression in any event was only a matter of time.⁴ But of the unnatural and graver charges preferred against the Templars—resting on the popular gossip of an ignorant and superstitious age, or on the perjured evidence of criminals and renegades, or on the involuntary utterances of the victims of horrible tortures—these charges are not only improbable in themselves, but absolutely disproved by the steady denial of the most honorable and saintly knights when facing the stake and in the very article of death.⁵

The Teutonic Knights, formed of German merchants and others, started as a hospital order in 1190, were confirmed by the pope in 1191, and seven years later were converted into a military order. In addition to duties to the sick and the usual monastic vows, the order made a special vow to wage war against the heathen. This designation gave it its chief mission. In the

CONCLUSION
ON THE MOR-
ALS OF THE
ORDERS.

TEUTONIC
KNIGHTS.

¹ Cibrario undertakes to turn Micheler's unfavorable *Procès* even into a witness for the innocence of the order.

² The Knights Templars, N. Y., 1886; also in *Spanish Story of the Armada and other Essays*, Lond. and N. Y., 1892.

³ *Hist. of the Inquisition*, N. Y. and Lond., 1883 (vol. iii). Lea calls the treatment of the Templars the "great crime of the Middle Ages" (iii, 238).

⁴ Wealth and luxury in a time of peace inevitably led to immorality. A curious illustration of this is a collection of amatory poems in Greek addressed by the Knights Hospitalers to the ladies of Rhodes; see Torr, *Rhodes in Modern Times* (3rd cent. to Turkish occupation), Cambridge, 1887. This is a point on which the rule of these orders is especially strict.

⁵ Cox speaks of these slanders as an illustration of what might be done by malignant lies uttered boldly under the plea of maintaining the truth and righteousness of God (*Hist. of the Crusades*, p. 221). The connection of the Order of the Temple with the Freemasons in their higher degrees is purely imaginary, not historical. 1. The Templars were not strictly a secret order, but a monastic brotherhood, whose rules and regulations were well known to the Church. In the English examinations the knights denied calmly and specifically that the chapters and reception of members were held in secret. 2. The order was not for speculative or social or fraternal purposes, but purely for placing their arms at the disposal of pilgrims. 3. The knights were in complete subordination to the pope, confessing the faith of the Roman Church, and ready at any time to die for that faith.

thirteenth and fourteenth centuries it did much fighting in Prussia and Lithuania. In 1525 it was secularized, and in 1809 it was entirely suppressed by Napoleon, except in Austria and Utrecht, where it still exists as, in a way, an aristocratic club. The Knights were cruel converters, but they were civilizers.

The Hospitalers, or Hospital Knights, whose chief duty was the waiting upon the sick, existed in many of the older orders or in separate associations. But the chief was the Order of the Knights of St. John, commonly called Hospitalers. In 1048 HOSPITALERS. as Benedictines they established a chapel and hospital in Jerusalem, and, later, hospitals at the seaports. In 1118 they were made a fighting order, and they won great renown by the valor with which they fought the battles of the crusaders. In 1309 they captured the island of Rhodes, and held it for two hundred years as a bulwark against Turkish aggression. In 1523 they surrendered it to Solyman after one of the most stubbornly contested sieges in history. They then removed to the island of Malta, where they stood as the advance guard of Christendom against the further western extension of the Moslem. In 1565 Solyman the Magnificent determined to conquer this last stronghold of the Christians. He sent against it the finest fleet and the strongest army which had ever faced a Christian foe. By marvelous valor and endurance the Knights drove back the Turks, and thus helped to save Europe from barbarism.¹ At the close of the eighteenth century the Knights dispersed, breaking up their organization. They have since organized in various countries with a more or less direct suggestion of the old order.²

¹ For an account of this siege, see Prescott, Philip II, book iv, ch. iv.

² Woodhouse, in his excellent book, *The Military Religious Orders*, Lond., 1879, gives a list (pp. 199-202) of the houses and officers in England.

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CHAPTER XLV.

FRANCIS AND HIS ORDER.

THE Catholic Church of the Middle Ages was saved by the Mendicant Orders—the Franciscans, the Dominicans, the Augustinians, and the Carmelites. When everything bade fair for a complete disintegration of the Church on account of its corruptions,¹ St. Francis and St. Dominic arose as the great reformers, the heralds of a better age, and the saviours of the papacy.

Francis of Assisi ought to be first in the affections of the Roman Church. No sooner did he die than the process of his canonization was set on foot.² Never did a man blend more perfectly the most simple-hearted enthusiasm for the imitation of Christ with ardent devotion to the holy see. Utterly free from worldliness, enamored with the ideal of poverty and peace set forth by Christ, going forth with the faith of a child to preach penitence, with a charity and zeal that never flagged, this one son of an obscure town in central Italy, this root out of a dry ground, has shed more charm upon the Catholic Church and kept more people within her fold than all her cardinals and theologians. With every fresh investigation the saintly features of this apostle of the thirteenth century appear more radiant than ever.

Giovanno Francesco Bernardone was the son of a rich merchant of Assisi, a town which sits proudly on the hills of Umbria, fourteen miles from its old enemy, Perugia. As a youth he was careless, gay, handsome, leading the young aristocratic set of his town in all their wild escapades. Mrs. Oliphant implies that there was nothing vicious in all this;³ but Sabatier, with a franker and less

¹ An excellent picture of the destructive forces at work when Francis arose is given by Sabatier in his *Life of St. Francis of Assisi*, pp. 28, ff. After Hase and de Mulae and Mrs. Oliphant and Bernardin had gone over the documents, Paul Sabatier, after ten years' study of all the sources, ransacking the garrets of the Italian monasteries, subjecting all the materials to a fresh criticism, writes once more the story of the Little Poor Man (*Poverello*) of Assisi, and finds more and more in him to love and to admire.

² Died 1226, canonized 1228.

³ Francis of Assisi, p. 5: "Among all the details that are given us we find no record of any disgraceful or painful episode."

idealistic attitude toward the sources, represents things as they are.¹ But two serious illnesses interrupted this worldly life, and affliction proved a schoolmaster to bring him, as it did Loyola, to Christ. He boldly left all his old ways, and went passionately into the path of self-denial. This was in his twenty-sixth year, 1208. He waited on the lepers, rebuilt with his own hand the decayed churches of Assisi, one of which he called his Portiuncula, or "little inheritance," and as the final act of self-surrender he discarded his wallet, his staff, and his shoes, and arrayed himself in a rough brown tunic of coarse woollen cloth, girt with a hempen cord. One day mass was being celebrated at the Portiuncula. The priest read the daring words of Christ: "Wherever ye go, preach, saying, The kingdom of heaven is at hand. Heal the sick, cleanse the lepers, cast out devils. Freely ye have received, freely give. Provide neither silver, nor gold, nor brass in your purses, neither scrip, nor two coats, nor shoes, nor staff, for the laborer is worthy of his hire." These strong words penetrated him like a revelation. "This is what I want," he cried, "this is what I was seeking; from this day forth I shall set myself with all my strength to put it in practice." "Before the shabby altars of the Portiuncula," says Sabatier, "he had perceived the banner of poverty, sacrifice, and love; he would carry it to the assault of every fortress of sin; under its shadow a true knight of Christ, he would marshal all the valiant warriors of a spiritual strife."²

Francis did not set out to found a brotherhood. At first he simply intended to preach repentance to the people. But others came to him and begged to be enrolled with him in this literal imitation of the first apostles. These he received. They were put under no vows excepting poverty and preaching. These men were not mendicants. They were to labor with their hands where work could be obtained; where it failed they were to ask simply for the necessities of life. Francis found that a sanction from the pope was necessary. This he sought in 1210 from Innocent III, who gave it to him orally and informally in a cordial interview. Francis

¹ Life of Francis of Assisi, p. 8: "Thomas of Celano and the Three Companions agree in picturing him as going to the worst excesses. Later biographers speak with more circumspection of his worldly career. A too widely credited story gathered from Celano's narrative was modified by the Chapter General of 1260, and the frankness of the early biographers was, no doubt, one of the causes which most effectually contributed to their definitive condemnation three years later." Thomas of Celano and the Three Companions were his earliest and best biographers. Bonaventura came later, and wrote his official biography, which gives us a miracle-worker rather than a man.

² Sabatier, p. 70.

saw the monastic orders, though vowed to poverty, rolling in wealth. The inconsistency he could not tolerate. Neither in their personal or corporate capacity could the Brothers of his order hold property. In fact, they were not to be a monastic body, with house and lands, but a band of itinerant evangelists, taking upon themselves the vows of Christ's first commission to his apostles. Nor was preaching their great object. The corner stone of Francis's scheme was love. "Go out," said he to his companions, "and show the people what love will do, what purity and self-denial will accomplish, and preach not so much by your words as by your lives." With this beautiful scheme he sent his followers out to regenerate the Church. Even the name of the Brothers proved that all worldly ambitions had been cut up by the roots, and that Francis went forth as the "patriarch of religious democracy," as his compatriot, Cristofani, calls him.¹ They were called Minorites, the Lesser Brethren, from the lower order of the populace. The numbers rapidly increased. In 1219, at the first general assembly, five thousand members were present. The Brothers went out over Europe, and even into the East, preaching Christ by the simplicity of their faith, by self-sacrifice, prayer, and holiness. Some historians call them the Methodists of mediæval times.²

But the freshness and beauty of this morning could not last.

¹ Storia d'Assisi, i, 70.

² Compare the interesting essay of Jessopp, *The Coming of the Friars*, Lond. and N. Y., 1889. He says in italics, "*St. Francis was the John Wesley of the thirteenth century whom the Church did not cast out.* Rome has never been afraid of fanaticism. She has always known how to utilize her enthusiasts fired by a new idea. [Not always. She did not utilize Peter Waldo, who came to her in as sincere faith and on as holy a mission as Francis.] The Church of England has never known how to deal with a man of genius. From Wiclif to Frederick Robertson, from Bishop Peacock to Dr. Rowland Williams, the clergyman who has been in danger of impressing his personality on Anglicanism, where he has not been the object of relentless persecution, has at least been regarded with timid suspicion, has been shunned by the prudent men of low degree, and by those of high degree has been forgotten. In the Church of England there has seldom been a time when the enthusiast has not been treated as a very *unsafe* man. Rome has found a place for the dreamiest mystic or the noisiest ranter—found a place and found a sphere of useful labor. We, with our insular prejudices, have been sticklers for the narrowest uniformity, and yet we have accepted as a useful addition to the creed of Christendom one article—*certain pas trop de zèle!*"—"above all, not too much zeal" (pp. 47, 48). Jessopp says again that when John Wesley offered to the Church of England precisely the successors of Francis's preaching Brothers, "we would have no commerce with them; we did our best to turn them into a hostile and invading force" (p. 49).

When the Brothers received formal ratification from Honorius III in 1223 the Rule which was then presented to the pope was a compromise between Francis's apostolic ideal and the practical sense of the Church. An intense conflict was going on in the order, and great pressure was exerted without the order, which Francis, with his humility and pious deference to superiors, could not resist. At first the Rule was simply the short, sharp sentences from the Gospel; or, as Sabatier well says, the "true Rule was Francis himself."² But the Rule which was finally ratified by the pope in 1223 made of the Brothers an order under the direction of the Roman Curia, took out all the spontaneity of free movement, toned down the first requirements of Francis, and converted the order into a close corporation under the pope. Yet even through this Rule there breathes the true spirit of Francis, with its emphasis on poverty, love, and the following of Christ.³ Poor Francis tried to stem the tide, but he was overborne by numbers and weight. He saw the eclipse of his sweet ideal. This may account in part for his early death, October 4, 1226, when only forty-two years of age.

Francis, in his Will, held up before the Brothers the first idea of the movement, without denying the validity of the later qualifications. He says:

"We loved to live in poor and abandoned churches, and we were ignorant and submissive to all. I worked with my hands and would continue to do, and I will also that all friars work at some honorable trade. Let those who have none learn one, not for the purpose of receiving the price of their toil, but for their good example and to flee idleness. And when they do not give us the price of the work, let us resort to the table of the Lord, begging bread from door to door. The Lord revealed to me the salvation we ought to give: 'God give you peace.' Let the Brothers take care not to receive churches, habitations, and all that men build for them, except as all is in accordance with the holy poverty which we have vowed in the Rule, and let them not receive hospitality in them except as strangers and pilgrims. I absolutely interdict all the Brothers, in whatever place they may be found, from asking any bull from the court of Rome, whether directly or indirectly, under pretext of church or convent or under pretext of preaching, nor for their personal protection. If they are not received any-

WILL OF
FRANCIS.

¹ Matt. xix, 21; xvi, 24-26; Luke ix, 1-6.

² Sabatier, p. 76.

³ See this Rule in Henderson, *Historical Documents of the Middle Ages*, pp. 344-349.

where let them go elsewhere, thus doing penance with the benediction of God."¹

Francis interdicted all glosses in the Rule or in the Will, but enjoined that both should always be observed in the "clear and simple manner, without commentary," in which they were given. But neither the Rule nor the sacred memory of the Poverello's life could keep the Franciscans from going down the Avernus.

Near the end of Francis's life, on September 17, 1224, while rapt in prayer on the summit of Mount Verna, and in the ecstasy of agonizing desire to be conformed to the image of Christ's death, he received the Stigmata—the marks of the wounds received by the Lord. All the earliest biographers describe this, and the event rests on such abundant documentary evidence that Sabatier, though he totally rejects the very idea of miracles as immoral,² receives it. He explains it on psychological laws. Hase, on the other hand, subjects the story to a critical analysis which destroys all its value.³ The Stigmata, according to the first Lives, were simply fleshly excrecences recalling the form and color of the nails THE STIGMATA. of the cross. The flow of blood is a later invention. There is no event in Francis's life more thoroughly proven than this, and as Sabatier says, "psychological agreement between the external circumstances and the event is so close that an invention of this character would be as inexplicable as the fact itself." There are several well-authenticated cases of stigmatization, but the phenomenon rests on pathological conditions which are entirely explicable on physical and mental conditions.⁴

The order which Francis thus founded in spite of himself⁵

¹ See the Will given in full in Sabatier, pp. 337-369.

² Pp. 433-435. See his excellent review of the evidence in an Appendix, pp. 433, ff. Sabatier says that God's law of impartiality excludes miracles (p. 433).

³ Franz von Assisi, Leipz., 1856. A history of the miracle, founded on Hase, is given in Good Words, 1867, p. 38, ff. Hase devotes sixty pages (143-202) to a study of the Stigmata.

⁴ "We must not lay any stress upon such cases. They are no more a sign of divine favor than the shattered constitution and disordered brain which produce it."—The Schaff-Herzog Encyc., iii, 2248.

⁵ There is a difference among scholars as to this. Müller, *Die Anfänge des Minoritenordens*, Freib., 1885, agrees with Sabatier in the opinion I have expressed above, that Francis was at the beginning an unconscious founder of a monastic institute, while Father Ehrle holds that the formation of monasteries, as opposed to the free itinerant life of the first Franciscan evangelists, and the regular organization of the order, were entirely in conformity with the original idea. See his *Controversen über Die Anfänge des Minoritenordens*, in *Zeitsch. f. Katholische Theologie*, 1887, H. ii. No unbiased reader of the Will, or even of the Rule of 1223, can agree with Ehrle in this view.

proved one of the most useful in the Roman Church. One of its best features was its adoption of the Tertiaries, or Third

THE ORDER.

Order of St. Francis, an idea not new to the Franciscans. It is the enrollment of members who continue to live in the "world," without the vow of celibacy, and bound only by the spirit and not by the letter of the Rule. Tertiaries must eschew all ornaments, all doubtful diversions, like the theater, must restore all ill-gotten gains, and attend faithfully to the duties of religion and charity. This extension of the monastic influence reminds us of Wesley's General Rules, and especially his Bands, and the High Church Guilds and Brotherhoods of the present day. The Tertiaries in their various forms exercised, and generally for good, a powerful influence on mediæval society. Both Weingarten and Denifle emphasize also the influence of the Franciscan Order on German mysticism. Weingarten says that German Pietism and the Moravian Brethren are the "last fruit of that piety of the heart, proceeding from inmost personal communion with Christ, which sprang from the original Franciscan system."¹ A most interesting line of religious development this opens up—Francis and his band of workers preaching penitence and love, the Mystics, the Pietists and Moravians, and then Wesley and evangelical Protestantism.²

There were many followers of the humble Assisian who would not see his order completely transformed without a struggle. The fight between the Spirituals or Observants, as the stricter party were called, and the Conventuals, or liberal party, was one of the most bitter ever known in ecclesiastical history. The Spirituals were cruelly persecuted, tortured, and even burned. This interesting controversy resulted in a permanent split in the order and a schism in the Church.

Francis could not bow to the spirit of the thirteenth century in its reverence for learning. The orders soon contended with each other, like college fraternities, as to who should get the brightest and most learned men in their ranks. But Francis would not put aside his ideal—love and goodness. "The Brethren shall not take trouble," he says, "to teach those ignorant of letters, but shall pay heed to this—that they desire to have the Spirit of God and its holy workings."³ "Suppose," he says again, "that you had nobility and learning enough to know all things, that you were acquainted with all languages, the course of the stars, and all the rest,

¹ Zeittafeln and Ueberlicke zur Kirchengeschichte, 3d ed., enl., Rudolstadt, 1888.

² See H. M. Scott, in *Cur. Dis. in Theol.*, vi, 225.

³ Rule of 1223, c. 10.

what is there in that to be proud of? A single demon knows more on those subjects than all the men in this world put together. But there is one thing that the demon is incapable of, and which is the glory of man—to be faithful to God.”¹ Like Paul, Francis was an enthusiast for one thing, and he would have relished Wesley’s impatient strenuousness for the salvation of men: “I would throw by all the libraries in the world rather than be guilty of the loss of one soul.”²

But this could not last. Soon the Franciscans and Dominicans were rivals in the race for getting the most men into the universities. Francis’s dreaded change of emphasis—from holiness to theology—came in good time. Bonaventura, the Franciscan, was lecturing in one room of the University of Paris, and Thomas Aquinas, the Dominican, was lecturing against him in another room. If the Franciscan taught one thing, the Dominican taught its opposite. The Franciscans, however, stood on solid ground. They were Realists, and with their great friar, John Duns Scotus, repudiated predestination. The practical bent toward life and the love which they received from their founder made itself felt in their theology. They could boast a long list of immortals—five popes, Hales, Ockham, Ximenes, and that marvel of mediæval times, Roger Bacon, and the historian Wadding, an Irishman, who, like most celebrated Irishmen, lived and wrought outside of Ireland. In all the contrasts of history there is not one which surpasses the amazing development of the simple band of threadbare preachers of Penitence who flocked to the standard of Francis into the learned and masterful company of brilliant authors and wise leaders who bore his magic name and did world-wide service in his honor.

On Francis and the fundamental change which his institute underwent, it is only fair to view him as he really was, and as he went calmly on in his chosen career, without taking into account the legendary marvels which his later admiring devotees attributed to him. He himself held miracles in comparative disdain, and his first biographers, Celano and the Companions, are wonderfully free from them. His age was one in which cold unbelief on the one hand, and all approach to high moral standards on the other, lay in one common grave.³ Moral and doctrinal rectitude had long been passing through hopeless disintegration. His aspiration was to retrace the steps of ecclesiastical and ethical vagary; to lead the

RIVALRY OF
 THE TWO
 ORDERS.

¹ See Sabatier, *l. c.*, p. 291, and note 1 on p. 282.

² Wesley, *Works*, viii, 334 (last London ed.).

³ Comp. C. Anderson Scott, in *Critical Review*, iv (1894), p. 355.

Church back to Christ as Teacher, Redeemer, and Example; to hold up the Sermon on the Mount as the only creed for pure living; to make the Church itself the embodiment of Christ's life and power; and to overcome the violence and waywardness of sinful passion by making supreme the truth and spirit of the whole Gospel. The ideal of Francis was sublime, and his labors to make it real belong to the higher realm of human greatness. His life was a protest against wrongdoing and vicious living. To the honor of Rome be it said, that he was permitted to speak and act in harmony with his deepest convictions. But the reformer was weaker than the organization which he sought to reform. His work was transmuted by the strong arm of Rome into a force for advancing her own ends, for substituting the shadow for the substance, for augmenting the popular faith in alleged miracles, and for making Francis the mere pretext for measures and beliefs which would have been abhorrent to him had he ever gone so far, in his wildest fancy, as to suppose them possible. No human organization has ever been so skillful and mighty as Rome in utilizing the achievements of its honest revolutionists for schemes of which the heroes had never dreamed and for which they had never toiled. The Roman acid has always been strong enough to dissolve and absorb into its general mass the purest crystals which it has deposited. The individuality was gone, but the elements were used for wider purposes. Francis was no more Francis, but it was an historical necessity which Rome eagerly seized upon to call the order by his name. But who would recognize Francis the practical and the real in the typical Franciscan of history, who revels in his world of ecstasies, visions, dreams, and miracles?

CHAPTER XLVI.

DOMINIC AND HIS ORDER.

IN the year 1218 Dominic and Francis met at the Portiuncula. The former had always been powerfully impressed at the success of the Minorites, and it was from them that he borrowed the idea of poverty to reinforce the popularity of his own flagging order. This was wise, for after the new vow the Dominicans also rapidly increased. Between the two men there was a difference. "Francis is the man of inspiration, Dominic is that of obedience to orders." One is the Hammer of Heretics, the other is the Father of the Poor.¹ Dominic was equally conscientious, sincere, devout, and with an equal devotion to the Church. He had a wider outlook and a more calculating spirit. He was not averse to learning, and touched the fountains of power. That the Church should have given birth to two such men at that time proves that the Spirit of God had not entirely left her.

Dominic's youth was far different from that of Francis. The best blood of Castile flowed in his veins, but he was early taught to walk in the paths of piety, from which he never departed. This scion of the ancient and honorable house of the Guzmans—a family of saints—was born at Calaroga, near Osma, in Old Castile, in 1170. All kinds of legends surround his life, to many of which Drane, the most critical of his biographers, gives full credence. He was educated from an early age by his uncle, ¹⁸¹⁰ an archpresbyter, and at the age of fourteen he went to the University of Palencia, afterward transferred to Salamanca. He applied himself intensely to his studies, but not more so than to the pursuits of religion. He was saintly from his boyhood. In the terrible famine of 1191 he gave away everything of value, even his parchments, annotated with his own hands. When his fellow-students expostulated with him the enthusiast replied, "Would you have me study off these dead skins, when men are dying of

¹ Sabatier, *Life of St. Francis of Assisi*, p. 215. There is no Sabatier for Dominic. Augusta Theodosia Drane has written an elaborate *History of St. Dominic*, Lond. and N. Y., 1891, from a careful study of all the original authorities, but from the standpoint of a devout believer, and therefore with too much credence in the legends. Her work has had the rare honor of translation into both French and German.

hunger?" He was ten years at the university. In 1194 he was made canon, and afterward subprior of the monastery at Osma.

In 1203 he accompanied his bishop on a diplomatic mission to France. It proved the turning point in his life. His journey lay through Languedoc. He saw those beautiful plains given over to what he believed to be heresy, and on his devout mind this made a fearful impression. Some of the heretics were antichristian, thoroughly indoctrinated with Manichæism, others were more evangelical, but all were estranged from the Church by its manifold corruptions and wicked clergy. While Dominic saw this, he also saw that the papal legates were incompetent for the work of conversion, on account of the pomp and state in which they carried on their work. He therefore asked the privilege of converting the heretics of Languedoc, which he did with self-denying simplicity, going among them in a spirit of love, and convincing them out of Holy Scripture. Drane says that his eloquence "conquered the obstinacy of vast numbers whom he won to the obedience of the Church."¹ His mission, however, on the whole, was a failure, although alleged miracles attended him on every path. It was a stubborn generation, and Innocent III had lost confidence in Christian means of conversion. After his legate, Cardinal Castellan, was slain, the dogs of war were let loose upon the Albigenses, and under the bloodthirsty Montfort the despised heretics were well-nigh exterminated.

Dominic, therefore, had the unenviable notoriety of being associated with this war against heresy, and from the fact that he was the first Inquisitor it has commonly been supposed that one of his duties was to turn over the heretics to death after their examination. Many of the early Dominican biographers and other Roman Catholic authorities earnestly affirm it, but this tradition is now exploded. The learned Dominican Echard proved that prior to the council of the Lateran in 1215, when Dominic ceased his labors in Languedoc, the office of Inquisitor did not exist, and that even then it was not so named.² The only evidence for the tradition is certain documents which simply refer to the penances which were exacted of heretics on being received back into the Church.³ Lea shows that it was in fact ten years after Dominic's

¹ History of St. Dominic, p. 41.

² The decrees of that council require bishops to appoint three men of good character who shall assist him in visiting those parts of his diocese infested by heretics that they may seek them out and bring them to justice. See Echard, *Scriptores ordinis Prædicatorum*, Paris, 1719-21, 2 vols., fol.

³ These documents are given in full by Drane, pp. 109-112.

study was most rigid, including Greek, Hebrew, and, for Eastern missionaries, Arabic. The student was required to understand apologetics and homiletics. To show the efficiency of their training, a brilliant pupil of theirs, Bernard de Gaillac DOMINICAN LEARNING. (d. 1331), mastered Greek so thoroughly that he could preach in it readily, then translated Aquinas into that language, and went to Constantinople to win the Greek Church to the papacy.¹ The Dominican would not have been frightened at the ordinary curriculum leading to the Protestant ministry, for his course was even more protracted: three years in the preparatory department, three years in the arts course (*studium artium*), three years in the scientific department (*studium naturalium*), three years in theology, and a postgraduate course for teachers (*studium solenne*).²

Is it any wonder that these acute and richly furnished intellects checked the advance of dissent in Europe, and brought thousands into Christianity in India, China, and Japan? Their range of literary activity was encyclopedic, exhausting the learning of the times. Even in the thirteenth century, before 1258, a catalogue of Dominican "Masters of Theology" embraced twenty teachers who "lectured and debated two and two in the presence of scholars and monks and many prelates of the Churches."³ Let Protestantism remember that if it will master the world, while receiving all the larger truth which has broken forth out of the Word in these later centuries, it must emulate the Dominican in his emphasis on the intellect and the Franciscan in his emphasis on the heart.

¹ Molinier, G. Bernard de Gaillac et l'enseignement chez les Dominicains à la fin du XIII siècle, in *Revue Historique*, xxv (1884), 2.

² Douais, *Essai sur l'organisation des études dans l'ordre des frères prêcheurs au XIII et au XIV siècle*, Paris, 1884. Scott, *Cur. Dis.*, iii, 176.

³ Doniflo, *Quellen zur Gelehrten-geschichte des Predigerordens*, im 13 u. 14 Jahrhundert, in *Archiv. f. Litt. u. Kirchengesch. des Mittelalters*, 1886, Bd. 2.

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CHAPTER XLVII.

THE WALDENSES AND THE MEDIAEVAL DISSENTERS.

THOSE who speak of the Middle Ages as a Dead Sea of Religious Calm—no life, no dissenting voices, no great currents of spiritual enthusiasm, no profound movements counter to the ruling Church, have a narrow view of that epoch. This is especially true of the latter part of the mediæval period, especially since the twelfth century, when Europe was swarming with sects and stirring with either healthy or fanatical excitement. The movements may be divided into two classes—the heretical and the evangelical, or the Manichæan and the Catholic.

The persistence of the old Hindu and Persian dualism is one of the marvels of history. The problem of evil has staggered the human mind. There is only one solution—that offered by the theology of the free will, which explains sin as the abuse of freedom, the possibility of which is inevitable in a moral world made for men and not for machines. But that solution could not be grasped by those trained under the shadow of fatalism which spread its gloomy darkness over the whole East and some sections of Christendom. To these the only solution was that of Mani, that there are two beings, one infinitely good, the Creator of the soul of man and everything good, and the other evil, the creator of matter, sin, and evil. It is a striking testimony to the persistence of this conception that nearly every sect of the Middle Ages was infected with it, that it explains the opprobrium cast upon the body by many in the Catholic Church, and that it has been recently revived in part by the so-called "Christian Science," which has had large vogue in the United States. One general name covers all these mediæval Manichæan-Christian sects—namely, Cathari, "the Pure." From a document first edited by Döllinger we get an excellent description of the tenets of one of them, the Albanenses, so called from the country of their origin or activity, Albania: "You teach and believe that there are two Creators from eternity, and that they are contrary, and that there is a great conflict between them, and that the one fights against the other, and destroys the other, according as either is more potent, publicly and privately. If this is true each is lord of

his own account, and lord over his own kingdom, and the creatures and sons of each ought to be subject to him. . . . O

ALBANENSES.

Albanenses, you preach two gods, two peoples, and two kingdoms without beginning, and that each of these will be of perpetual duration. O Albanenses, you preach that the evil god sent his messenger, or his messengers, into the kingdom of the good God, and that a great battle took place there, and that not being able to resist Michael the archangel they were thrust out of heaven; but yet they fell into a multitude of the souls of the good God, whom the evil god himself imprisoned in human bodies, for restoring whom the good God sent his Son into the world, who died, was crucified, suffered martyrdom in this world."

The Carcoricii of Bulgaria and Italy and the Bogomiles of Thrace differed from the Albanenses by holding to a derived and subordinate dualism. There were some minor differences between the different sects or branches of the Cathari, but they all agreed as to the dualism, emphasis on asceticism and the necessity of crucifying the flesh to attain the perfect life, a denial of the magical effect of Church ordinances, a denial of the sacredness of Church buildings and ceremonies, especially when ministered by a corrupt priesthood, and an absurdly strict moral standard based on the opposition between spirit and matter. To hold property, to keep intercourse with worldly men, to lie, to steal, to swear, to wage war, to kill animals, except those that creep, to eat flesh, except that of fishes, and to marry, were deadly sins. The severity of these requirements was mitigated by the distinction between the Perfect and the Believers; only the Perfect were required to fulfill all the rules, while the Believers were exhorted to enter the higher circle in their last illness, at which time they received a spiritual baptism, the *consolamentum*.

Some Roman Catholic writers have excused the fierce persecutions waged against the Cathari by the assertion that they were outrageously immoral. Ryder, the associate of Newman, calls the mediæval heretic, as a rule, "a very loathsome combination of the scamp and the ruffian."² This is a slander. There were ruffians in the Middle Ages—such as the Côtereaux and Brabançons—men tossed up on the surface of the raging sea of those troublous times, with-

¹ Salons Bucee, a nobleman of Piacenza, in his *Supra Stella*, A. D. 1235, printed the 2d vol. of Dollinger's *Beiträge zur Sektengeschichte des Mittelalters*, München, 1890: This tract is one of the most valuable sources for a knowledge of the mediæval sects. It is written by a layman, and is a straightforward and moderate account.

² Catholic Controversy, 3d ed., p. 209 (Am. ed.).

out religion, without mercy, organized banditti, returned crusaders, discharged soldiers, escaped criminals, and worthless ecclesiastics and monks. But these were not the Cathari, much less the Waldenses.¹ Drane, more moderately, says that the "facts of history fully justify a contemporary writer, who was perfectly well informed in the matters of which he speaks, when he declares the actions perpetrated by the followers of the Albigensian heresy to have been too loathsome and horrible for description."² Dollinger is also inclined to give credit, without special investigation, to the testimony of their enemies as to the immorality of certain of the Cathari.³ On the other hand, the monstrous charges of the enemies of the Cathari impute to them deeds which were fundamentally opposed to their principles, and for these principles they were ready to suffer torture and death. Besides, the writers of the documents which mention these deeds do not pretend to have sufficient evidence whereon to base their insinuations, but throw them out for what they are worth, as resting on mere rumor.⁴ Karl Schmidt, who investigated the documents in a more judicial spirit, discredits the charges,⁵ which rest in fact on no better foundation than do the wild stories told of the early Christians.

Indeed, no surer way lay open to a Roman Catholic Christian to vindicate himself against the charge of Catharism than to swear that he was addicted to the practices and vices of our ordinary humanity. When summoned before the tribunal of Toulouse, Jean Teisseire defended himself by exclaiming: "I am not a heretic, for I have a wife and children, and I eat flesh, and lie and swear, and am a faithful Christian."⁶ Lea agrees with Schmidt that many of the ethical precepts of the Cathari were admirable, and that they were reasonably obeyed. In spite of the horrible tales, invented perhaps to frighten the people from heresy, the candid and intelligent inquisitors, who had the best means of knowing the truth, make no mention of crimes, and in the hundreds of excom-

¹ Lea, *Hist. of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages*, i, 125.

² *Quo ipsi faciunt in abscondito non est modo necesse in medium proferre, qui sunt foetida et horribilia.* Alberic Trium, *Font. Gallia. Rer. Script. Collection of Dom Martin Bouquet*, t. xxi, p. 524. See Drane, *Hist. of St. Dominic*, pp. 27, 28.

³ *Sektengeschichte*, i, 174, ff. The treatment in this volume is meagre, and does not add materially to our knowledge.

⁴ See Newman, in *Chr. Lit.*, April, 1890, vol. ii, p. 57.

⁵ *Hist. et Doctrine de la secte des Cathares*, Paris, 1849, 2 vols., and art. in *Herzog-Plitt*.

⁶ Guil. Pelisso, *Chron.*, ed. Molinier, Anicii, p. 17.

munications and sentences which Lea read there is no allusion to anything of the kind except in some proceedings in the Alpine valleys in 1387.¹ St. Bernard bears the same testimony. "If you interrogate the heretics," he says, "nothing can be more Christian; as to their conversation, nothing can be less reprehensible, and what they speak they prove by their deeds. As for the morals of the heretic, he cheats no one, he oppresses no one, he strikes no one, his cheeks are pale with fasting, he eats not the bread of idleness, his hands labor for his livelihood."² The abbot Joachim bears the same testimony.³

After making a careful study of the original authorities Lea sums up the whole matter in a few comprehensive words. The Cathari were "mostly simple folks, industrious peasants and mechanics, who felt the evils around them and welcomed any change. The theologians who combated them ridiculed them as ignorant churls, and in France they were popularly known by the name of *Texerant* (*Tisserands*, weavers), on account of the prevalence of the heresy among the weavers, whose monotonous occupation doubtless gave ample opportunity for thought. Rude and ignorant they might be for the most part, but they had skilled theologians for teachers and an extensive popular literature, which has utterly perished, saving a Catharin version of the New Testament in Romance and a book of ritual. Their familiarity with Scripture is vouched for by the warning of Lucas, Bishop of Tuy, that the Christian should dread their conversation as he would a tempest, unless he is skilled in the law of God so that he can overcome them in argument. Their strict morality was never corrupted, and a hundred years after St. Bernard the same testimony is rendered to the virtue of those who were persecuted in France in the middle of the thirteenth century. In fact, the formula of confession used in their assemblies shows a strict guard was maintained over every idle thought and careless word."⁴ The guilt of immorality lay on other shoulders, and the Church knew it, and many of her teachers bitterly confessed it. This in part explains the rise and vast extent of the Catharist heresies. They honeycombed all central and southern Europe. Mediæval Christianity had met its most formidable enemy, and it seemed at one time as if the Church would be supplanted by a Christian Manichæism over all its fairest territories.

It is a matter of congratulation that the Catharists did not supplant it. For although they shone favorably in morality beside the

¹ Lea, i, 101.

² *Serm. in Cantica*, xv, 5; xvi, 1.

³ See the admirable work by Tocco, *L'Eresia nel Medio Evo.*, p. 403.

⁴ Lea, *l. c.*, pp. 101, 102.

Catholics, their system was not only a negation of Christianity, but also a strong denial of progress and civilization. If matter is the creation of the devil, and nature the vesture of a demon, all science becomes an impossibility, and all the magnificent growth of man in art and labor and the ameliorations of charity is a deadly snare. For this reason we may be thankful that the Church triumphed in that conflict. We cannot excuse her weapons. She tried persuasion, reason, truth, and in Francis she tried love. But all these failed. Then she used force, and the dragoons of Montfort, the tribunals of the Inquisition, the torture, and the stake accomplished the work. But the pulverization of dualism was a most beneficial result, even if the means used were barbarous and devilish. If the Church had been faithful to the spirit and truth of her Lord she would not have had occasion to imbrue her hands in blood and burden her conscience with the awful memories of her inquisitional butcheries. But it was the just retribution for her sins.

Of the numerous wings of the Catharist school the Bogomiles of Thrace lived on through the Middle Ages, in spite of fire and sword, until they were finally absorbed or forced into Mohammedanism. Even to-day in Bosnia-Herzegovina their tenets "still lurk as a secret and sacred tradition among some families," and the vestiges of an ancient Christian ritual can be traced in their services. On their sixty thousand tombs the crescent and the cross are often to be found sculptured.¹ The Patarini² of Italy were widely spread, and had churches, and, at last, even dioceses, in the principal cities and in the Papal States. Both the conflicts of the popes with the Hohenstaufen and the political condition of Italy favored them, and many powerful nobles supported them. For centuries they withstood the fires of the Inquisition, and late in the fourteenth century the Holy Office was busily persecuting them. After that, however, they disappeared. It is a singular illustration of their strength and influence in Italy that so late as the last years of the thirteenth century one of their number in Ferrara, Armano Pangilovo, was very near being canonized by the pope. Some go so far as to say that Dante was a preacher among them,³ but Schmidt

¹ See Munro, *Rambles and Studies in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Dalmatia*, Edinb., 1896; *The Nation*, N. Y., Aug. 13, 1896, p. 128.

² Or ragpickers, so called from the section of the city of Milan where the rag collectors made their rendezvous, and where the Catharists under their great leader Arialdus were wont to gather. "Patarini" is still the cry of the ragpickers in the small towns of Provence.

³ Aroux, *Daute Hérétique, Revolutionnaire et Socialiste*, Paris, 1854, and the same author's *Clef de la Comédie anti-Catholique de Dante Alighieri*, Paris, 1856.

justly characterizes such a statement as an "exaggeration of sickly criticism."¹ The Albigenses of the south of France felt the iron the most keenly. Here the intolerable papal corruption had made a deep impression, and the spread of Catharism was rapid and extensive. In many places they almost entirely supplanted the Roman Catholic Church. In vain the holy St. Bernard, in 1147, and St. Dominic, in 1205-15, and numerous other Catholic workers, tried to bring them over to the faith. The more they argued the more the heresy grew. Then the murder of the papal legate Castelnau gave Innocent III his pretext for arguments of another sort. He called for a holy crusade against the heretics of Languedoc, and was met by prompt responses enough. With fire, sword, torture, and wholesale massacres, all augmented by the Inquisition, the heretics were either converted or exterminated. For twenty years, 1208-29, the holocaust went on. The savagery with which the Holy War of Innocent was carried on was well illustrated by the famous response of the papal legate at the sack of Beziers, in 1209. When asked what to do with the inhabitants of the captured city the answer came: "Kill them all; God will know his own." The religious effect of the Albigensian war was to leave the miserable remnant of Cathari in the hands of the Inquisition, while its political effect was to leave the country in the hands of the King of France. The war itself is one of the infamous spots on the fame of the Roman Church which will not out, though washed by a thousand seas. This war left the richest and fairest country a desert, burned its heterodox inhabitants, and many even of its orthodox were chained together and sent to the Moslem slave market.² In Germany a few burnings and the decisive treatment

THE HOLY
CRUSADE.

¹ Modern biblical criticism affords many parallels to such fantastic exaggeration.

² The name Albigenses comes from Albi (Albige), capital of department Tarn, one of their principal seats. Before the crusade they were spoken of as Publicans, or Publicani, a name probably from the Paulicians, although they called themselves the Bos Hommes (*Bont Hommes*, Bons Hommes), a name which they gave to the *perfecti*. It used to be the popular Protestant conception that the Albigenses were practically identical with the Waldenses, and that they were evangelical, if not almost Protestants of the pre-Reformation. The works of Allix, *Hist. of the Albigenses*, Oxf., 1821, Faber, *Theol. of the Vallenses and Albigenses*, Lond., 1838, Laird, *Hist. of the Albigenses*, Vaudais, etc., N. Y., 1830, helped to spread this idea. In this they had the illustrious examples of Basnage, Abbadie, and Beausobre, the celebrated author of the *Hist. of Manichæism*, and the Vaudois historians of the seventeenth century, Perrin and Leger. The learned Arminian Limborch was one of the first to change Protestant sentiment. In preparing his *Hist. of the Inquisition* (1692) he edited the records of the Inquisition of Toulouse, and confesses its perusal had changed his opinion, and convinced him of the Manichean character of the

of Konrad of Marburg (1231) sufficed to crush the Cathari, and in England they made no mark.

The second group of heretics may be called evangelical and catholic, not because they reached at once the full assurance of faith, but because they stood, for the most part at least, on the Scriptures, and in their doctrines never went beyond the limits of belief as held by the Church Catholic. While not Protestants before the Reformation, they anticipated in important particulars Luther's message. That there were all through the Middle Ages select souls here and there who kept the faith, cannot be doubted, but these men of purer thought had no connection one with another, and were in no separate organization, but simply existed in the Church. The idea that the Waldenses and the EVANGELICAL AND CATHOLIC GROUP. Anabaptists can trace their life as communities back to the apostolic times, that groups of men existed here and there which had received from their predecessors and handed down to their successors a purer faith, and that thus the lamp of the Gospel was kept burning at a definite center or centers from the apostolic times to the Reformation, rests on no sufficient foundation whatever, and is now abandoned by scholars. If there were such evangelical groups, such heralds of the pure Gospel, it may at least be said they have left no trace.

One of the earliest of these reformers was Peter of Bruys, who went through the south of France preaching against images, crucifixes, ceremonies, and church buildings, and calling men PETER OF BRUYS. back to the simple teachings of Christ. He rejected infant baptism and all sacramental significance in the Lord's Supper. Much that was crude and ill-advised was in his message, but he was working back to the original Gospel, though without the training or balance to do justice to institutional Christianity. Most of the practices and tenets of the Church he repudiated, but without substituting a well-considered scheme of Christian doctrine. Dollinger insists on identifying him and Henry of Lausanne with the Catharists, but without any reason.¹ His great opponent, Peter the Venerable,

theology of the Albigenses. Mosheim followed him, and this view has been so confirmed by every study of the documents of the time that Neander, Gieseler, Hahn, Schmidt, Herzog, and since then all scholars, have adopted this view. For a scholarly treatment see Lond. Quar. Rev. (West. Meth.), iv, 1, ff. An admirable account of the crusade is given by Moffat in *Presb. Rev.*, 1886, 657-689. Maitland, *Facts and Documents Illustrative of the Albigenses and Waldenses*, Lond., 1822, was one of the first to bring Englishmen to the right view. A simple way to come to a solution of the matter is to ask the opinion of the Waldenses concerning their brother heretics, the Cathari and Albigenses. The later Waldenses abhorred them and wrote against them.

¹Dollinger, *l.c.*; i, ch. vi.

never attributes to him any of the distinguishing marks of the Manichæans, or calls him one. This he would have done had there been occasion.¹ The bishops and priests, with the help of a mob, burned him at St. Gilles in 1126.

Henry of Lausanne, a contemporary, and a monk of Clugny, stood closer by the Church. He held a cross before him, and went forth preaching penitence, attacking the depravity of the clergy and creating intense excitement wherever he went. He laid hold of men's hearts with great power, brought them face to face with the Gospel, and caused thousands to renounce their sins. He readily proved that the Church, both in doctrine and life, had left the New Testament standard, and his work in southern France produced a profound impression. Bernard of Clairvaux, who preached

and wrote against him, thought that all the people were leaving the Church for him. "How great are the evils," he says, "which I have heard, and know, that the heretic Henry has done and is daily doing in the churches of God! A ravening wolf in sheep's clothing is busy in your land. The churches are without congregations, congregations without priests, priests without their due reverence, and, worst of all, Christians without Christ. Churches are regarded as synagogues, the sanctuary of God is said to have no sanctity, the sacraments are not thought to be sacred, and feast days are deprived of their wonted solemnities. Men are dying in their sins."² The Church was thoroughly alarmed, and sent the holy Bernard to call the people back. Bernard had little success, however. His auditors interrupted him with passages of Scripture and confounded him. Finally, Henry was seized and imprisoned about 1148, and kept in prison until he died.³

We ought not to pass over that brave and high-minded republican, Arnold of Brescia, who, if he did not protest strongly against corrupt doctrine, worked mightily for evangelical reform. He was a native of Brescia, in Lombardy,

¹ The best treatment of Peter of Bruys is by Newman in *Papers of Am. Soc. of Church History*, iv, 183, ff. See also Neander, iv, 595, ff. The only source is Peter the Venerable's *Adversus Petribrusianos hereticos*, in Migne, vol. 189.

² Ep. 241 (ed. Ealos, ii, 707). In this epistle Bernard seeks to blacken his character—a favorite method of dealing with heretics—but his charges are unfounded.

³ Dollinger classes Henry also with the Catharists, but without evidence, purely an insufficient and presumptive reasoning. Neither Hildebert nor Bernard hints at this, which they would have been only too glad to do if the slightest pretext had been afforded them.

where a statue of him was unveiled in 1882. He had been a pupil of Abelard, in Paris. He was deeply agitated by the corruptions of the Church, and called it back to the simplicity of the apostolic model. In Lombardy, in France, and finally in Rome, he lifted up his voice, though relentlessly pursued, however, by the great hunter of heresy, Bernard of Clairvaux. His scheme was the Voluntaryism of the Protestant Churches, that priests and prelates should give up their riches, live in the simple style of the apostles, and depend upon the freewill offerings of the faithful. He was nine hundred years in advance of his time. In Rome he led a revolutionary movement for the restoration of the greatness of the city under the senators and people, dependent neither on the corrupt papal court nor on the empire. In 1155 the new constitution was adopted, but on the approach of Frederick Barbarossa, into whose hands he fell,¹ he was surrendered to the pope, was hung, his body burned, and his ashes thrown into the Tiber, in 1155. There has been much dispute as to Arnold's doctrinal position, Giesebrecht claiming that his work was political and within the Church,² and others holding that his protest went farther.³ There is no doubt that the latter opinion is correct. Bernard says he was unsound in doctrine as well as a schismatic.⁴ Otto of Frisingen says that he was a "man of affected singularity and sought after novelty, one of those dispositions ever ready to manufacture heresies and to stir up divisions."⁵ He also complains that he "is said to have been astray in reference to the sacrament of the altar and the baptism of infants." Arnold founded, directly or indirectly, the Arnoldists, a sect which had large vogue in Lombardy, and led a reaction against the superstitious value of rites in favor of a purer Christianity.⁶

The most influential of these evangelical reformers was Peter Waldo, of Lyons, who founded the only mediæval reformatory

¹ Frederick wanted to conciliate the pope in order to facilitate his crowning. The surrender of his real ally in his contests with the papal absolutism is a dark stain on Frederick.

² Arnold von Brescia, München, 1873.

³ This is the opinion of the best authorities on mediæval sects, including Leger, Füsslin, Muratori, Dieckhoff, Toco, Keller, Breyer (Arnold von Brescia, in Maurenbrecher's *Hist. Taschenbuch*, 1889, and *Die Arnoldisten*, in *Briegger's Zeitsch. f. Kirchengesch.*, xii, 1891), and Newman, pp. 199 ff. There are four primary authorities for Arnold's life: the letters of St. Bernard, the anonymous poet of Bergamo, John of Salisbury, and Otto of Freising.

⁴ Ep. 195.

⁵ *De Gestis Friderici*, ii, 20.

⁶ Perhaps the best monograph on Arnold of Brescia is by Hansrath, *Arnold von Brescia*, Leipz., 1891. Picturesque and trustworthy.

community that has come down to the present day. He was a wealthy merchant, but, becoming enamored with Christ's ideal of poverty and cross-bearing, he parted with his goods (1173) and embarked on a voyage, the issue of which he knew not. His first thought was to study the Bible. He knew little of Latin, and there were no translations in the dialect of the country. He therefore hired two priests, who translated the New Testament for him, which he soon committed to memory. People came to his house to hear him. Without knowing it, he soon became the preacher. Disciples gathered around him. He instructed them in reading the Scriptures. "Then they went out into the public places and the workshops, and visited the people from house to house, and what they had to say was summed up for the time being in the words: 'Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.'"¹ Such was the rise of the Waldenses.

It was a movement at first entirely within the Church. Although Waldo and his followers went out everywhere preaching, or rather talking, the Gospel, reading and explaining the Scriptures and scattering over southern France, Switzerland, and Italy the seeds of truth, they did so in simple-hearted confidence as good Catholics.² Their aim was to spread the knowledge of the Scriptures, to conform more strictly to the primitive ideal. To do this they had to maintain the liberty of preaching, that any Christian who knew the word could expound it in private or in public. But this they did in no spirit of schism, but as loving children of the Church. In 1179 Pope Alexander III received them at Rome with favor, but forbade their preaching. That was the parting of the ways. "We must obey God rather than men," said Waldo, and in saying that he gave a banner for Protestantism. But this challenge the pope met by an anathema, in 1183: "We include under a perpetual anathema all those who in spite of our interdiction, and without being sent by us, shall dare to preach, whether in private or public, contrary to the authority represented by the apostolic see and the bishops."³ This anathema was repeated at the fourth Lateran council of 1215, and thus closed the purely Catholic period of the Waldenses.

¹ Comba, *Hist. of the Waldenses of Italy*, tr. by T. E. Comba. Lond., 1889, p. 26.

² Montet, in his excellent work, *Hist. Littéraire des Vaudois du Piémont*, Paris, 1887, divides the history of the Waldensian Church into three parts, (1) Catholic, (2) Hussite, and (3) Protestant, and there is no doubt of the substantial accuracy of this representation.

³ Mansi, xxiv.

Organization followed. Two by two they went forth carrying with them parts of the Bible translated into the vernacular, devotional extracts from the Fathers, and hymns, gathering the faithful in secluded places, visiting them in their homes, preaching, hearing their confessions, and granting absolution. In some congregations contrition of heart and silent prayer were the only penance necessary. In morals they were very austere. They took the Sermon on the Mount literally: nonresistance, no homicide, even in judicial sentences. Every holy man had the power to ordain and to administer the sacraments, although in some places the Waldenses had a regular ministry. They rejected purgatory. Their views changed with time, becoming more and more scriptural; while in different countries various aspects of teaching appeared. But their whole and inevitable tendency was to widen the breach between them and the Church. Their principles logically cut the ground from under sacerdotalism, indulgences, and the whole machinery of the Church.¹ They were saturated with the Bible. They frequently knew whole books by heart. Various councils forbade Bible reading. Then these earnest folk unfolded its truths to the people. There is no sublimer picture in history than these humble Bible students, holding with the Church in some things, attending her services in many cases, going forth in love to bring the power and love of the Gospel to the people, seeking the leper-houses to minister to the lepers, ceaseless in learning and teaching, swimming rivers on their mission tours, working with their own hands to support themselves, despised, persecuted, tormented, whose only sign was, as their Nobla Leycezon says, and for which they were deemed worthy of death, that they followed Christ, and sought to obey the commandments of God.

The Poor Men of Lyons spread with great rapidity. On the plains of Lombardy they were the Poor Men of Lombardy, where, partly in descent from the Arnoldists, they differed in some respects from the Lyons brethren, the Italians being more radical reformers.² In the valleys of the Alps they flourished, and in those valleys they endured until the Reformation. It was the age of martyrs—three hundred years of cunning, force, torture, dungeons, and fires on the part of the Roman Church against as inoffensive and pious Christians as the world has ever seen. They

¹ Lea gives an excellent survey, *Hist. of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages*, i, 76-88.

² These differences form the subject of a conference between the two schools, full particulars of which are in the *Rescriptum Hierosolymitani Lombardum ad Leonistas in Alemannia*, about 1250, first published by Preger, München, 1875, and repub. by Döllinger in his *Säkengeschichte*, 1890.

were the fathers of the idea of the vernacular translation of the Bible for the common people, and of the right of every man to read the book for himself. They were emphatically Bible Christians. Since the time of Hildebrand the Church had repeatedly, in various local synods, prohibited the reading of the Bible in the vernacular, and Innocent III had given authoritative expression to these decisions. It was the Waldenses and their collaborators to whom the common people of the Middle Ages owed their sight of the written word, and the message of its salvation, in their mother tongue. A number of Romance Waldensian versions have been known constantly, but it was not until 1881 that KLIMESCH'S DISCOVERY. Klimesch discovered in the monastery of Tepl in Bohemia a manuscript German Bible, which, in the opinion of many scholars, is Waldensian, and surprised the world with the question whether to those outcast heretics the German people do not owe their first introduction to the Bible in their own language. This Codex Teplensis, as the discoverer calls it, belongs to the fourteenth century, agrees strikingly with the Romance Waldensian versions in points where they differ from the Vulgate, and experts in Waldensiana, like Keller, Haupt, and Müller, have almost demonstrated the Waldensian origin of the version.¹

The Waldenses also exerted a great influence on Hus and the Hussite Reformation, and they everywhere paved the way for Luther.

WALDENSES
STIMULATE
OTHER MOVE-
MENTS. The best historical investigator of the sixteenth century, Matthias Flacius Illyricus, confesses that the Hussite and Taborite movements, the Unitas Fratrum, and other reformatory movements were deeply indebted to the Waldenses. They not only created an atmosphere of reform throughout the south of Europe, but they produced influences of a more positive kind. In 1318 and 1335 there were inquisitions for Waldensian heresies in Bohemia, and the synodical decrees of

¹ Keller, *Die Reformation und die älteren Reformparteien*, Leipzig, 1885, and *Die Waldenser und die deutschen Bibelübersetzungen*, 1886; Haupt, *Die deutsche Bibelübersetzung der mittelalt. Waldenser*, Würzb., 1885, and *Der waldensische Ursprung des Codex Teplensis und der vorlutherischen deutschen Bibeldrücke*, 1886; Newman, *Papers of Amer. Soc. of Ch. Hist.*, iv, 215, ff.; Schaff, in *Presb. Rev.*, 1887, 355-357. Klimesch was the librarian of the Bohemian (Catholic) convent at Tepl, and published the Codex under the title, *Der Codex Teplensis enthaltend die Schrift des neuen Gezeuges, Arab. und Manich.* 1881-84. Klimesch and Jostes (R. Ch.), *Die Waldenser und die vorlutherischen Bibelübersetzung, eine Kritik des neueren Hypotheses*, Münster, 1875, and other scholars believe in the Catholic origin of the Teplensis. Berger, the best French authority on mediæval Bibles, is fully convinced of the Waldensian origin of the pre-Lutheran German Bibles. See his essays in *Revue Historique*, 1886, p. 32.

Prague, going back to 1335, made frequent mention of the Waldenses, but scarcely refer to any other sect. In the fourteenth century Waldensian heretics had penetrated into Bohemia, Austria, Pomerania, Brandenburg, and, belonging to the more radical and anti-Roman branch, the Poor Men of Lombardy, and being less committed to nonresistance, powerfully stimulated the working of the Protestant leaven, and were the forerunners of Hus and the Bohemian Brethren. In all these countries there existed a thoroughly evangelical type of Waldensianism during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.'

The college of the Waldenses was located at Milan, which sent out pastors and evangelists through southern Europe. One of their teachers and pastors, Morel, greeted the light which arose at Wittenberg. "When the sun of the Reformation arose," says Comba, "the Waldensian light was shining still, if not as brightly, at least as purely as in the past; but in the presence of the new sun it might well appear to grow paler. Morel testifies to this with child-like simplicity and an ingenuous joyful expectation which recalls that of the prophets of old. 'Welcome! blessed be thou, my Lord,' he writes to the Basel reformers, 'we come to thee from a far-off country, with hearts full of joy, in the hope and assurance that through thee the Spirit of the Almighty will enlighten us.' That is the last word of the history of the Waldenses before the Reformation. The cry of the navigator who, at the early dawn, saw the New World appear was neither more sincere nor more joyous nor yet of better omen. It was as if from the valleys there echoed the voice of Simeon welcoming again the Saviour of the Israel of the Alps."²

The Waldenses continued to hold their own simple and secret services until about 1530, though occasionally receiving baptism and the Lord's Supper at the hands of the regular priests. They

¹ Wattenbach shows this in his *Ueber die Inquisition der Waldenser in Pommern und der Mark Brandenburg*, Berl., 1836, based on recently discovered MSS. For influence of Waldenses on Taborites, see Preger, *Ueber das Verhältniss der Taboriten zu den Waldensern des 14. Jahrhunderts*, München, 1887, and Haupt, *Waldensertum und Inquisition in südöstl. Deutschland*, Freib., 1890. The only denial of this has sprung from those who, like Loserth and Hudely, are impressed by the fact no less true of the vast influence of Wiclif on Hus and the Husite reform. Loserth has demonstrated this influence by abundant evidence. But one fact need not destroy the other. Newman gives an excellent *résumé* of the evidence of the connection of the Taborites with the Waldenses and a comparison of their doctrines in ch. vi (pp. 206, ff.) of his treatise, *Recent Researches concerning Mediæval Sects*, printed in *Am. Soc. of Church History Papers*, iv, 1892.

² *Hist. of the Waldenses of Italy*, p. 159.

maintained, however, their own body of ministers, whom they called *barbas*—guides. These ministers were inducted into office through the imposition of the hands of the entire ministerial assembly, after a meager course of instruction carried on through three or four winters in the intervals of rest from the manual toil of the flock and the soil. In 1532 at a synod held at Chanforans the Waldenses openly allied themselves with the Swiss Reformers, cut themselves entirely aloof from the Roman Church, and declared their meetings, hitherto conducted as private assemblies, to be public gatherings for the worship of God.

FINAL SEPA-
RATION FROM
THE ROMAN
CHURCH.

LITERATURE: THE USE OF PERSECUTION: INQUISITION.

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CHAPTER XLVIII.

THE USE OF PERSECUTION.

THE Christian law of tolerance, as definitely fixed by our Lord himself,¹ was cordially embraced by the Church during its own trial by fire. Tertullian nobly vindicates it in his *Apology* TERTULLIAN ON LIBERTY. and in his great treatise to Scapula: "Let one man worship God, another Jupiter; let one lift suppliant hands to the heavens, another to the altar of Fides. . . . For see that you do not give a further ground for the charge of irreligion by taking away religious liberty, and forbidding free choice of Deity, so that I may no longer worship according to my inclination, but am compelled to worship against it. Not even a human being would care to have unwilling homage rendered him."² "It is a fundamental human right, a privilege of nature, that every man should worship according to his own convictions; one man's religion neither harms nor helps another man. It is assuredly no part of religion to compel religion, to which free will and not force should lead us, even the sacrificial victims being required of a willing mind. You will render no real service to your God by compelling us to sacrifice. For they can have no desire for offerings from the unwilling."³

Cyprian also has golden words: "It is for us to do our utmost that we may be vessels of gold or of silver; to God only is it given to break the vessels of clay. The servant cannot be greater than his lord. No one may take upon himself what the Father has given to the Son only. No one may undertake to purge the threshing-floor or sever the wheat from the tares by human judgment. This is proud obstinacy and sacrilegious presumption springing from

¹ See Luke ix, 54-56, and the remarks on the passage by Creighton, *Persecution and Toleration*, Lond. and N. Y., 1895, pp. 13, ff.

² *Apol.*, xxiv.

³ *Ad. Scap.*, li. In writing against the Gentiles he seems to indicate a place for compulsion: "It is proper that heretics be driven to duty, not enticed. Obstinacy must be conquered, not coaxed." But it is a question whether this is not to be interpreted figuratively. If otherwise, Tertullian is a remarkable, though not exceptional, case of inconsistency—claiming toleration for one's self, but not willing to grant it to others.

wicked anger." "Belief cannot be enforced," says Lactantius, "for he who lacks piety is useless to God." But this Christian sentiment of the first three hundred years was ruthlessly sacrificed to a supposed necessary uniformity in the State when Christianity became a State religion.

There has been a wide difference of opinion as to the rationale of the persecution of heretics by the ruling Church. Lecky's partial view attributes it to the doctrine of exclusive salvation; that is, that only in the Church and in orthodoxy is there salvation. He says that no doctrine has had greater influence on the history of mankind, and he compares the somber and baleful shadow it cast upon the human mind with the cheerful serenity with which Socrates looked upon death and the hereafter.¹ This writer also says that if men hold their own faith intensely, and with equal firmness believe that all dissidents are doomed to eternal misery, they must inevitably persecute to the full extent of their power.² But the judgment of Lecky is an afterthought. When persecution is once well under way it may be defended by the grim necessity of saving men's souls by punishing their bodies, and by terror keeping in the ranks those not infected by heresy. But this is evidently not the reason for beginning it. If it was, why did not the Church use this weapon against heathenism? Here were multitudes in the bonds of iniquity, but the Church proceeded against them with missionaries and not with soldiers.³ On the other hand, Creighton contends that the use of persecution by the Church arose by the extension of the idea of the State into the domain of the Church, the Church herself becoming, after Constantine, a civil institution, the guardian of society, and the sponsor for unity. The fundamental conception of the Greek and Roman State was uniformity of religion. Plato says: "Let this then be the law: No one shall possess shrines of the gods in private houses, and he who is found to possess them, and perform any sacred rites not publicly authorized, shall be informed against to the guardians of the law; and let them issue orders that he shall carry his private rites to the public temples, and if he do not obey, let them inflict a penalty until he comply. And if a person be

¹ Ep. 1 (*al.* liv), 3, Chr. Lit. ed., p. 327; ii (*al.* lv), 25, Chr. Lit. ed., p. 331.

² Div. Inst., v, 29.

³ The Rise and Influence of Rationalism in Europe, i, 415, 416. See the whole chapter, i, 386, ff., ii, 1-105. This is one of the most interesting books of the century; but its brilliant generalizations must not all be received at their face value.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ii, 1, 2.

⁵ Both Creighton, p. 5, and Lea, History of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages, i, 242, call attention to this.

proven guilty of impiety, not merely from childish levity, but such as grown-up men may be guilty of, let him be punished with death."¹ On this principle the Greek and Roman world was governed. Rome indeed allowed her conquered nations to retain their faiths, supremely indifferent to the claims of clashing religions. But this indifference was on the surface. Rome had her *illicite religiones*—prohibited faiths—and these she persecuted to the death. A religion which she deemed antieivie, irreconcilably opposed to the pagan State, she could not abide. For this reason she looked upon Christianity as abhorrent. This reference to the traditional policy of the State explains, in Creighton's opinion, the use of persecution by the Church. He sums up his conclusion, which is entirely at variance with the ordinary judgments, in these words: Persecution or punishment for erroneous opinion, though all along condemned by the Christian conscience, was "adopted by the Church from the system of the world, when the Church accepted the responsibility of maintaining order in the community; it was exercised for political rather than religious ends: it was felt by those who used it to throw them into contradictions; it neither originated in any misunderstanding of the Scriptures nor was removed by the progress of intellectual enlightenment; it disappeared because the State became conscious that there was an adequate basis for the maintenance of political society in those principles of right and wrong which were universally recognized by its citizens, apart from their position or beliefs as members of any religious organization."²

No doubt the influence of the idea of the unity of the State went for much. But it does not explain everything. In the first place, the ancient and mediæval mind could not conceive the innocent existence side by side of variant faiths. The idea of toleration is a modern growth. There was something in the ancient world which made the realization of that idea impossible. It was rather due to a limited intellectual outlook and a one-sided spiritual culture. The growth of man is a slow process, and Christ's ideal, even to-day, is far in advance of his followers. This explains why the modern idea of the essentials and nonessentials in religion, and of the moral innocence of mistaken beliefs, was incapable of being grasped by the ancient Church. These things to us are axioms, but they were

¹ Laws, 908-910 (Jowett).

² Persecution and Toleration, pp. 2, 3. It is to be hoped that the proofs of such important conclusions will be elaborated. These Hulsean Lectures are far too slight, and on important points the evidence adduced is meager. The case is really more complicated.

inconceivable even to the mediæval mind. It was rather the awful guilt of heresy before God, and the exposure of the soul of the heretic to punishment in hell, than his menace to the State, which moved the Church to cut him off.

Chrysostom compares heretics to the devil's tares. They must therefore be checked, their mouths stopped, and their assemblies broken up; but they must not be put to death, for in doing this some saints might perish also. Besides, an implacable war would be brought into the world, and some heretics who are not incurables might be slain before they have a chance to amend.¹

Augustine also shrank from blood. The laws against the Donatists must be strictly enforced, and any hardship short of death must be meted out to them; but all this solely to deliver them from their error, that they "may be preserved from falling under the penalty of eternal judgment."² "He is aware, indeed, that the barring of the death penalty may have somewhat the aspect of weakness and dereliction of duty," but so much is due to the reputation of Catholic clemency and to the forbearance which is due to her enemies.³ In his answer to the letters of Petilian the Donatist—a sharp book written with dialectical incisiveness—Augustine is compelled to meet the question of toleration. Petilian pleads for toleration in almost a modern spirit, but he of Hippo never meets him on the same plane. He always ignores the real question, and by hard words, skillful fencing, and the convenient use of the Circumcelliones he keeps away from his opponent's ground. But throughout there is the assumption that schism is a crime of the

AUGUSTINE.

deepest dye, and if not punished by death it is not because the crime is not intrinsically worthy of it, but because of forbearance or a desire not to proceed to such lengths. He refers to Christ's driving the money changers out of the temple as full justification for persecution, and insists that it is not persecution to persecute the unrighteous, that is, heretics and schismatics.⁴ The same principles are laid down in the City of God.⁵ The Church is supreme over the State, and to its wishes the latter must defer; heresy is a crime; compulsion is not only right in itself, but most salutary, because it brings fanatics to their senses and awakens the indolent. And so to the holy St. Augustine we must assign the honor of not only laying over Europe the dark pall of the horrible

¹ Horn. in Matt., xlvii.

² Ep. c.

³ *Ibid.*, cxxxix.

⁴ See Aug., *Contra Litt. Petil.*, chaps. 79-92. He also quotes Psalm ci, 5, as justifying persecution, and he calls schism a "criminal sacrilege."

⁵ For Augustine's doctrine on this matter, see Gesséken, *Church and State*, i, 124-126.

decree which Calvin handed over to Protestantism, but also of fully asserting the doctrine of religious intolerance and fortifying it with his sanctity, his genius, his flimsy arguments, and his perverted exegesis. Augustine does not advocate persecution for State reasons or for the bearing of heresy on morality, but on account of the inherent detestability of heresy itself. Besides, the Church was a divine institution, and if men will not come into it themselves they must be forced into it.¹

We need not be surprised, then, if, with or without the regnant influence of St. Augustine, a doctrine so congenial to human nature as that of religious intolerance found free scope in the Middle Ages. The Gnostics, the Priscillianists, the Donatists, and later the Catharists, the Waldenses, the Hussites, the Lollards—all felt the iron heel. The first case of death for heresy was in 385, when the Gnostic and pantheistic Christian Priscillian, with six of his adherents, was condemned to death by the emperor Maximus at the instance of two bishops. This first formal murder for heresy made a profound impression on the Church, and elicited from Bishop Martin of Tours, a more Christ-like man than his brother of Hippo, a passionate remonstrance. Martin refused to communicate with the persecuting bishops, and Ambrose excommunicated the emperor. But the protest of Martin was soon forgotten, and we find Leo the Great (died 461) indorsing the Theodosian Code in 438, which outlawed heretics and condemned them to death.² The Church did not recede from this ground. There were individual cases of clemency and pleas for toleration, but nothing to break the force of the great Latin teachers of Christendom in their contention that the salutary surgery of death was sometimes necessary in healing the body of Christ of the disease of heresy. Bernard of Clairvaux was a good representative of the more tolerant persecutors. When the populace of Cologne, in 1145, seized the Catharists and burned them, he remonstrated with them, saying that reason and not force should be used in converting heretics, and that faith cannot be spread by persecution but by persuasion. But he admitted that the secular arm could wield the sword against the misbelievers, and quoted Paul³ to prove that it may sometimes be the duty of the State to use that

PREVALENCE
OF INTOLER-
ANCE.

¹ Comp. Allen, *Continuity of Christian Thought*, pp. 152, 153. In Ep. xciii, chaps. 1-5, Augustine offers an elaborate argument against religious liberty. In this epistle he says that he was at first in favor of toleration, but, seeing in a certain town the practical benefits of persecution in bringing the Donatists into the Church, he had changed his mind.

² Theod. Code, bk. xvi, tit. 5: De Hæreticis.

³ Rom. xiii. 4.

weapon.' The first positive law assigning burning as the punishment of heresy was enacted by Pedro II of Aragon in 1197. Spain has been sufficiently faithful to the precedent.

Germany was somewhat more merciful. Otho IV in 1210 ordered the property of heretics confiscated and their houses torn down. Frederick II in 1220 made the heretic an outlaw, which placed his life at the mercy of anyone who desired to take it. But the progress of this liberal Voltairean prince in cruelty recalls the INTOLERANCE IN GERMANY. der mercies of the infidels of the French Revolution. In 1224 he decreed the loss of the tongue or death by fire, at the discretion of the judge. In 1231 he made the punishment by fire absolute, that is, for Sicily, and in 1238 by the edict of Oremona he made the fagot the recognized punishment for heresy throughout the empire, as we find it subsequently embodied in both the *Sachsenspiegel* and the *Schwabenspiegel*, or municipal laws of northern and southern Germany. The stake was universal in France in the thirteenth century, though it was not until 1270 that the recognized custom was made the law of the land. England, freer from heresy than other countries, was also later in punishing it, the stake not being assigned as the recognized penalty until the famous law *De hæretico comburendo* in 1401.²

Lea calls attention to the fact that the horrible climax of cruelty to which men were led by their zeal for Christ—the burning of heretics—was not the product of law, but the spontaneous action of the people. The law simply embodied the popular will. The custom found abundant sanction from the ignorant literalism then in vogue in the exegesis of Scripture. The words of Jesus concerning the rejected branch³ were taken as giving divine authority to the practice. It is this text which Pope Lucius III quotes in 1184 in his edict concerning persecution. This popular demand for burning suggests another reason for the prevalence of persecution, or, at least, for the ease with which it was carried on and the absence of protests against it—that is, the savagery, callousness, and semibarbarism of the European mind of mediæval times. What would to-day excite indescribable horror and indignation was considered then a matter of course. It was a military age, and cruelty is the invariable concomitant of militarism.⁴ Force was used instead of persuasion. Men were accustomed to endure hard-

¹ Serm. in Cantica, lxiv, chap. 8, lxvi, chap. 2; Lea, i, 220, 221.

² Lea, *Hist. of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages*, i, 221. All the works of this eminent scholar are specially strong on the legal side. ³ John xv, 6.

⁴ Even to-day in Germany, on account of the cruel army discipline, the number of suicides among soldiers is phenomenal.

ship and pain, and ascetics to inflict severe punishments on themselves. The criminal code was atrocious and of unspeakable barbarity. In fact, the Middle Ages can be understood only by remembering that in many aspects of individual and social life the people were barbarians. We are misled by the churches and theologians and philosophers, and think that an age which could produce these must be far advanced in civilization. But these plants grew in rough soil. Burning people alive for simple felonies was characteristic of the age. Can we wonder, then, that, impelled by a vicious teaching based on an honest but mistaken exegesis of Scripture,¹ and by the principle of the criminality of mistaken opinions and the doctrine of exclusive salvation, an age essentially barbaric and cruel beyond imagination would try to rid itself of heresy by the prison, the sword, or the stake?² Thomas Aquinas echoed the sentiments of Augustine, and reduced the theory of persecution to a dogma.³ The wonder is that no more blood was shed.

PERSECUTION
A POPULAR
WISDOM.

Catholic apologists emphasize the fact that persecution was not the direct work of the Church, but invariably the action of the civil arm. But this exculpation of the Catholic Church to the prejudice of the Catholic State is purely fictitious. It is true that the heretic was turned over by the Church to the civil officers, and that the canon law forbade a clergyman to imbrue his hands in blood. On the other hand, what are the facts? In Catholic theory the State was simply the executive of the Church. Aquinas and almost every eminent spokesman for the Church insisted on the headship of the Church. They also taught intolerance as a first principle of the Gospel, and the right of persecution of religious error as inherent in the nature of Church and State. If the civil authorities were remiss in their sacred duty of burning people for reading the Bible or refusing to invoke the saints, the Church soon prodded the drooping secular

THE CHURCH
TEACHING
PERSECUTION.

¹ "Compel them to come in." Luke xiv, 23.

² See the excellent treatment in Lea, chap. v. He does justice to all the elements in the case, and, for a full view of the rationale of ecclesiastical persecution, he should be read to supplement Creighton. On the criminal code, see pp. 231-233.

³ *Summa Sac.*, Sec. 2, Q. x, arts. iii, vi; Q. xi, arts. iii, iv. Aquinas held the supremacy of the Church over the State in an absolute form. A king must see to it that no heresy is allowed in his dominions, and if he himself becomes heretical he must be deposed. See his *De regimine principum*, of which the first two books are by him and the last two by Ptolemaeus of Lucca (probably). Creighton, *Hist. of Papacy during Reformation*, i, 29, 30; Lea, i, 229, 230, 236.

arm. The second Lateran council, 1139, ordered all kings to coerce heretics, and Pope Lucius III. in 1184, gave a similar order, and any refusal or neglect was to be punished by excommunication. Because of Raymond's reluctance to force these bloody requisitions among his peaceful folk the terrible Albigensian Crusade was preached against him. When the pope handed the emperor the ring and the sword the emperor was instructed that these were the symbols of his authority to strike down heresies and the enemies of the Church.

The atrocious decrees of Frederick II were not only taught in the famous law school at Bologna, but were embodied in the canon law itself. "In the bull of Clement VI," says Lea, "recognizing Charles IV, the first named of the imperial duties are the extension of the faith and the extirpation of heretics; and the neglect of the emperor Wenceslas to suppress Wiclifism was regarded as a satisfactory reason for his deposition. In fact, according to High Churchmen the only reason of the transfer of the empire from the Greeks to the Germans was that the Church might have an efficient agent. The principles applied to Raymond of Toulouse were embodied in the canon law, and every prince and noble was made to understand that his land would be exposed to the spoiler if after due notice he hesitated in trampling out heresy. Minor officials were subjected to the same discipline. . . . Anyone holding temporal jurisdiction who delayed in exterminating heretics was guilty of fautorship of heresy, became an accomplice of heretics, and thus was subjected to the penalties of heresy. . . . From the emperor to the meanest peasant the duty of persecution was enforced with all the sanctions, spiritual and temporal, which the Church could command. . . . In view of this earnestness to embody in the statute books the sharpest laws for the extermination of heretics, and to oblige the secular officials to execute those laws under the alternative of being themselves condemned and punished as heretics, the adjuration for mercy with which the Inquisition handed over their victims to be burned was evidently a mere technical formula to avoid the 'irregularity' of being concerned in judgments of blood. In process of time the moral responsibility was freely admitted, as when in February, 1418, the council of Constance decreed that all who should defend Husitism or regard Hus or Jerome of Prague as holy men should be treated as relapsed heretics and be punished with fire—*punitur ad ignem*. It is altogether a modern perversion of history to assume, as apologists do, that the request for mercy was sincere and that the secular magistrate, and not the Inquisition, was responsible for the death of the heretic.

We can imagine the smile of amused surprise with which Gregory IX or Gregory XI would have listened to the dialectics with which the Comte Joseph de Maistre proves that it is an error to suppose, or much more to assert, that Catholic priests can in any manner be instrumental in encompassing the death of a fellow-creature.¹

The Church, however, did not hesitate to organize the forces of persecution under its own hands, and give those forces an effectiveness which for diabolical ingenuity and disregard for both the forms and substance of right is unparalleled in history. The Inquisition was not a sudden creation; it was a growth. The thought of appointing special persons to second the tardy efforts of bishops in hunting heretics came first to the mind of Innocent III—ever ready in schemes for the advancement of the Church. By the fourth Lateran council, 1215, every bishop was instructed to visit his see in person or to appoint diligent persons to do it, and, where necessary, to take an oath of the inhabitants to inform against heretics. For many years afterward the process of perfecting some system of visitation, delation, trial, and conviction went on, all the time, however, the inquisitors already appointed doing their work all too perfectly. In 1233 Gregory IX appointed the Dominicans special inquisitors, though this by no means confined the honors of the Inquisition to that order.² More will be said of the Inquisition hereafter, in treating the Church history of modern Spain.

¹ History of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages, i, 224-228. He refers to De Maistre, *Lettres sur l'Inquisition Espagnole*, 1864, pp. 17, 18, 28, 34. The alleviation of the blood-guiltiness of the Church by throwing it over on the State is a favorite method of Roman historians and controversialists. An earlier apologist is Blunter: "Our pope does not kill, nor does he order another to be killed; but the law kills those whom the pope permits to be killed, and they kill themselves who make themselves liable to be killed."—Greg. Parnus, (13th cent.), *Disputatio Cath. et Patar.* (Martine Thesaur., v, 1711). This frank placing of the responsibility on the pope is met by the equally frank defense of the Inquisition by an enthusiastic Dominican in 1782, who goes back to Deut. xiii, 6-10, and attempts to prove from Scripture that fire is the peculiar delight of God and the best means of purifying the wheat from the tares. See Lea, i, 228, note.

² His bull is addressed "to the Priors and Friars of the Order of Preachers, Inquisitors," and after alluding to the sons of perdition who defend heresy it proceeds: "Therefore you, or any of you, wherever you may happen to preach, are empowered, unless they desist from such defense (of heretics), on monition, to deprive clerks of their benefices forever, and to proceed against them and all others, without appeal, calling in the aid of the secular arm, if necessary, and coercing opposition, if requisite, with the censure of the Church, without appeal."—Lea, i, 329.

The methods by which the Inquisition became the apotheosis of persecution, and by which it acquired its ghastly effectiveness, are interesting. We follow Döllinger's summary of its statutes: 1. The names of witnesses before the tribunal of the Holy Office¹ are not to be mentioned in the presence of the accused. 2. Witnesses may be of any kind—criminals, perjured, excommunicate, in fact, the basest villains. 3. As soon as any testimony has been obtained which the accused disavows the rack is to be applied to him, repeatedly if necessary, and with increasing severity. 4. Whosoever attempts to render legal assistance or to give any sort of counsel to the accused is liable to excommunication. 5. Everything that savors of the *faularia*, that is, favoring or supporting the accused, will be visited with the severest canonical penalties. 6. Those of the accused who recant and declare themselves willing to do penance are sentenced to imprisonment for life. 7. Whoever recalls his confession will be treated as a backslider and burnt.² When we add to this horrible sevenfold scale of injustice the fact that the proceedings were secret, we may have some conception of the supernatural terror which seized a town on the approach of the inquisitors, or a family when it became known that one of its members hitherto orthodox had been arrested on the suspicion of heresy. Neither publicity nor formalities of law restrained the Office, whose procedure was, as Zanghino says,³ purely arbitrary.⁴ We need not be surprised that with this weapon Philip the Fair soon accomplished his purpose against the Knights Templars, and that any public manifestation of heresy in any district covered by the Inquisition soon became impossible. "The inquisitional process," says Lea, "as thus perfected was sure of its victim. No one whom a judge wished to condemn could escape. The form in which it became naturalized in secular jurisprudence was less arbitrary and effective, yet Sir John Fortescue, the chancellor of Henry VI, who in his exile had ample opportunity to observe its

¹ *Sanctum Officium* is the official name of the Court of Inquisition.

² Döllinger, *Hist. Essays*, pp. 209, 210.

³ *Tract. de Hæret.*, chap. ix.

⁴ Lea, i, 406. Hefele in his *Life of Cardinal Ximenes*, tr. Dalton, Lond., 1860, pp. 323, ff., says that the methods of the Inquisition were fairer than those of the secular courts of the time. Lea (i, 407, note), on the other hand, quotes from the charter given by Alphonse of Poitiers to Auvergne about 1200, which provides that anyone accused of crime by common report could clear himself by his own oath, and that for a single legal conjurator, unless there was a legitimate plaintiff or accuser; and no one could be tried by the inquisitional process without his own consent. No doubt after the Inquisition became a permanent department of the Spanish Church and State efforts were made to infuse a spirit of justice into its operations.

working, declares that it placed every man's life and limb at the mercy of any enemy who could suborn two unknown witnesses to swear against him."¹

Finally, it is an important question, in speaking of the use of persecution in the Middle Ages, to inquire whether there were not voices raised against it, men who remained true to the plan of the Gospel and sought to stay the tide of death. There were such voices, and Creighton is encouraged by them to think that the Church always felt that persecution was against the Christian ideal. But these protests were so few and stood in such isolation, never representing the dominant opinion, and being absolutely opposed to both the civil and canon law and to the authoritative judgments of popes and councils and theologians, that they unfortunately do not bear out such a favorable inference. In his great work, *Defensor Pacis*, in 1327, Marsiglio of Padua anticipates the modern idea of religious liberty. Priests can have no authority except what is given by Christ; and the question is, not what power Christ might have given them, but what he actually gave. He exercised no coercive power, and so far from conferring it on the apostles he warned them by example and precept to abstain from it. "It is vain and of none effect to compel any man unto the observing of God's laws. For to him that should observe them only on compulsion they should be nothing available unto eternal health. . . . I say it is not lawful for any man to judge a heretic or misbeliever, or compel him to any pain or punishment in the state of this life."² This is indeed an epoch-making book, and if we could have had such utterances from Aquinas it might be taken as representing the Church. But what heretic was shielded under the noble pleas of the Paduan lawyer, and wherein did he affect the steady policy of the Catholic Church? Much later, in the dawn of the modern era, we have another voice for toleration—More's *Utopia*, 1516. But it too was a voice in the wilderness. Sir Thomas himself held another language when he came to speak with authority, as representing the Church and State of his time.³

¹ Vol. i, 429. He refers to Fortescue, *De Laudibus Legum Angliæ*, c. xxvii.

² For further from this able and farsighted jurist see Creighton, *Persecution and Tolerance*, pp. 94-97, and the same author's *Hist. of the Papacy during the Period of the Reformation*, i, 36-41.

³ See Creighton, *Persecution and Tolerance*, pp. 104-108. His treatment of More is excellent. But when he says (p. 97) that "men never thought persecution right," how can he account for its systematic defense by the theologians, its enthusiastic adoption by the holiest teachers, and its constant use by the Church?

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CHAPTER XLIX.

THE MYSTICS AND OTHER PROPHETS OF THE BETTER DAY.

THE story of Mysticism in the Christian Church is the romance of a reaction. When the mediæval Church had formulated its doctrines with the precision of a scientific catalogue, and when scholasticism had evaporated all the heat out of religion by its profitless dialectics, holy men arose who threw aside the theological conventionalities and boldly strode by the direct path of the mystic vision into the temple of God. Mysticism, so far as we have to do with it in the Church, was an attempt to find truth and life by the direct revelation of God in the soul, either with or apart from his revelation in the Bible and the community. So far as this attempt was made in conformity with the laws of mind and the integrity of the human personality, and so far as it was both inspired and modified by the historic revelation, it was a healthy development, essential to the progress and triumph of the Church and to the soundness and fullness of the Christian life. So far as the attempt sought the vision of God by ecstasy, by rapt, but not rational, contemplation, and by cessation of the bodily and mental functions, it was mischievous and extravagant and the parent of vagaries and fanaticisms.

This Mysticism, now true and now false, had a wide vogue in the Church. If the Latin Church had not overlaid the simple scriptural conceptions with its arid rites and infinitesimal refinements and additions, perverting spiritual union with God by faith and prayer into a material union by the sacraments, and perverting ethical union with God by a submission of the will and moral harmony of the whole life into a mechanical union by penance and the performance of the "commands of the Church," we might never have heard of Christian Mysticism. At all events, it would not have played an important part. Mysticism is the penalty of both sacerdotalism and that orthodox or heterodox rationalism which, both in Catholicism and Protestantism, crush the spontaneous movement of the soul toward God and look with unfriendly eye on all manifestations of the Spirit not in conformity with the formulas, the dogmas, and the stereotyped methods.

John Scotus Erigena is usually accounted the first of the Latin

Mystics. He was both a mystic and a rationalist. This Irish scholar came to the court of Charles the Bald about the middle of the ninth century. Although it was a sluggish age the daring and original speculations of this thinker startled men into thinking. Erigena is the father of the idea of the immanence of God, which has played so important a part in recent theology. Creation is an eternal and necessary self-unfolding of the divine nature. God is the inner life, the vital foundation of the universe. As all things are now God, self-unfolded; so, in the final restitution, all things will be resolved into God, self-withdrawn. Evil and sin are not in the order of nature. They are negatives, have no real existence, and are a falling away from unity.¹ They must also cease and God be all in all. The fire of hell is figurative—a principle to which both the good and evil are subject, the latter to their torment, the former to their blessing, just as light is painful to a diseased eye and grateful to a sound one. On the Lord's Supper Erigena stood with Ratramnus—the bread and wine are symbols of Christ only.

On the great predestinarian controversy then raging Erigena entered with the zeal of a gladiator, eager to attempt to prove the falsity of Gottschalk's theory of election. Man is free. That is his highest gift. It is impossible in God to predestinate any person to evil. Man is made for God, and into God he must finally return. Even now by willing to know God man can to a certain extent commence his union with him, which will be completed at the end of all things, when he may hope to penetrate into the divine essence. Erigena had the Johannine ambition "to know thee, the only true God and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent." To know God is to become one with him. Thus he cries out, "O Lord Jesus! no other reward, no other beatitude I desire from thee, but to understand purely and free from all error of fallacious theory thy words which were inspired by the Holy Spirit." It is remarkable that, so far as we know, the Church did not persecute this Christian pantheist for his lofty and splendid conceptions. But the Rome of the ninth century was less sharp in its detection of heresy than the Rome of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In 1225 Honorius III described the *De Divisione Naturæ*, written in 854, as "swarming with worms of heretical perversity," but it was not until 1685 that it was put on the Index of Prohibited Books.²

¹ This speculation has had great attraction for some minds, and is the fundamental principle of the sect of "Christian Science."

² Erigena's pioneer service for speculative Mysticism was his translation of the works of the pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite and of the Greek theologian.

Bernard of Clairvaux's (1091-1153) Mysticism is of a more moderate and evangelical type. He had no faith in contemplative sloth, but believed in transmuting all experiences into life, and when he speaks of his highest experiences, which he does with hesitation and humility, he has no visions to relate, but only the joy which possessed him and the new facility with which he brought forth the fruits of the Spirit. Thus he speaks: "As the little water-drop poured into a large measure of wine seems to lose its own nature entirely and to take on both the taste and color of wine, or as iron heated red-hot loses its own appearance and glows like fire, or as air filled with sunlight is transformed into the same brightness so that it does not so much appear to be illuminated as to be itself light, so must all human feeling toward the Holy One be self-dissolved in unspeakable love, and wholly transfused into the will of God. For how shall God be all in all if anything of man remains in man? The substance will, indeed, remain, but in another form, another glory, another power."¹ But this highest experience of the transfiguring love comes only seldom—happy is the man who has it. "To lose thyself utterly as if thou wert not, not to think of thyself, to empty thee of thyself, and almost annihilate it—this is the part of heavenly converse, not of mere human affection." "In the spiritual immortal body the soul may hope to attain this fourth state of the fullness of love, or rather to be lifted into it, since it will not so much follow a human endeavor as be given by the power of God to whomsoever he will." But all Christian experience, according to Bernard, is for holiness, and here he reminds us of Wesley. "Of his theology, as of his heart, it might truly be said that its home was in the heavens. His ethereal system could hardly escape being frozen into a frightful scheme of carnal sacraments, purchased absolutions, and external salvation, when men of an earthly and frigid spirit put it into the forms of thought most congenial to their minds. But out of that theology came always to himself immense and lovely inspiration. It loosened him from the earth, and made him partaker, as he deeply felt, of thoughts, experiences, belonging by nature to higher realms. It gave him a strange supremacy among men. What power on earth could

BERNARD.

Maximus. There are excellent monographs by Tailander, Paris, 1843, and Christlieb, Gotha, 1860. See writings and life of Scotus Erigena, in *Church Quar. Rev.* (Lond.), July, 1882, 390, ff. Storrs, Bernard of Clairvaux, 296-288, 348-350, contains copious extracts from his writings.

¹ *De diligendo Deo*, x. Vaughan, *Hours with the Mystics*, 5th ed., i, 150, 151, gives several pertinent quotations from Bernard's writings.

frighten him affined through Christ to the Majesty in the heavens? What presence on earth could daunt or allure him to whom the stars were only the diamond dust of his immortal habitation? Every force of his will was exalted and energized by the touch of this theology upon him, and its ethereal sovereign power lived for long in other minds. Indeed, it never was lost, or will be, from the consciousness of the Church."¹

The Augustinian monastery of St. Victor in the suburbs of Paris was the home of piety and learning. Hence issued forth the textbooks of Mysticism. The head of the mystical school of St. Victor was Hugo (1096-1141). He was the teacher of Aquinas

HUGO.

and Vincent of Beauvais, and his ponderous tomes gained for him the name of the second Augustine. He wedded scholasticism and Mysticism, and in his loftiest flights tried never to part with common sense. For the knowledge of God and spiritual realities there are three stages or faculties—cogitation; meditation, reflection, or investigation; and contemplation. In this last stage faith becomes so strong, the soul's eye so clear, that truth pervades the nature, God is in the heart, self is gone, and love is all in all. Man reaches this stage by the faith, the feeling, and the ascetic practice of religion. But even here man must exercise his critical faculty, that he be not deceived as to the nature of the light that comes to him. Satan can assume the garb of an angel of light, and we must try the spirits.

Hugo was one of the best theologians of the Middle Ages, and he largely influenced Bernard.² His pupil, Richard of St. Victor, was more of a reformer than his quiet, studious, valetudinarian master. He strongly rebuked the avarice of prelates and the empty disputation of schoolmen—men who blush more for a false quantity than for a sin, and stand more in awe of Priscian than of Christ. "How many come to the cloister to seek Christ, and find lying in that sepulcher the linen clothes of your formalism! How many mask their cowardice under the name of love, and let every abuse run riot on the plea of peace! How many others call their hatred of individuals hatred of iniquity, and think to be righteous cheaply by mere outcry against other men's sins!"³ Divinely

¹ Storrs, Bernard of Clairvaux, pp. 342, 343.

² Leibner has given an elaborate investigation in his *Hugo von St. Victor und die theologischen Richtungen seiner Zeit*, 1832. A critical edition of Hugo's works is a desideratum. See the learned monograph of Haureau, *Les Œuvres de Hugue de St. Victor: Essai Critique*, Paris, 1888—a work more admirable for its scholarship than its theology.

³ *De Preparatione animi ad contemplationem*, c. xli; Vaughan, *Hours*, i, 160.

illuminated intelligence is to search first the deeps of our own nature and then ascend into the heights of the divine. The highest intuition few are able to obtain. In this all earthly things fade away and the soul joins itself to God. Not only a holy heart, but self-knowledge, self-simplification, and self-concentration are essential to the ascent of the soul.¹ A third member of this famous school, Walter of St. Victor, threw all his soul against the scholastic method, but when it came to any constructive work he had not the eagle's wings of his teachers. He sank into a slavish dependence on the Church. Bonaventura (1221-74) followed in the footsteps of the Victorins.

An interesting heretical development appeared in the Brethren of the Free Spirit, who flourished in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. They taught an undisguised pantheism and a union with God which dispensed with the help of moral precepts. They showed the extravagance which is so near the heart of Mysticism. This widely diffused sect of heretics withstood all the efforts of the Church and Inquisition to crush them. It is remarkable that while in mediæval times evangelical conceptions had a poor soil for growth Europe swarmed with wild heretics. Whether the Brethren of the Free Spirit were identical with the Beghards is hard to determine. Haupt has shown that at least in their later developments and in Germany the people of the Free Spirit differed from the Beghards. The most of the latter were orthodox, and in begging and other peculiarities were very like the Franciscans.² But the earliest manuscript sources attribute pantheism and other errors to the Beghards, no doubt with entire justice.

BRETHREN OF
THE FREE
SPIRIT.

More interesting still is the mystical overflow among German women. They came out in public with their visions, their preachings, and their insistence on reform and on holiness of heart and life, and made quite a ripple on the calm surface of the mediæval Church. Among them was St. Elizabeth of Hungary (1207-31), who during her married life was a model of Christian charity and activity, but after the death of her husband, in 1227, became the victim of barbarous austerities under the influence of her confessor, Conrad of Marburg. He set himself to

WOMEN AS
MYSTICS.

¹ Best ed. of works, Rouen, 1650. Full information by Engelhardt, Richard von St. Victor, ed. 1838, and Leibner, Richard in doctrina, 1837-39. Large quotations are in the copious notes of Vaughan, i, 171-173. In Richard, Scotland taught all Europe.

² Haupt, Die Sekte von Freien Geistern und die Begharden, in Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, 150, Bd. vii, H. iv (1885).

the task of destroying every natural affection in the hope of making a saint. Elizabeth separated from her three children, bared her back while her brother flagellated it, and Conrad sang the *Miserere* as an accompaniment—a ghastly spectacle, surely, but one perfectly in accord with the degraded religious conceptions of the time.¹ Mechthild of Magdeburg (1214–77) gave a terminology to German Mysticism fifty years before Eckhart's time.²

We now come to the best school of the Mystics, those German lovers of God who kept the seeds of piety alive until the Reformation. The most daring of these was John Eckhart (1260–1329), “Master,” as he was called by his loving disciples. He was a Dominican, a pupil of Albert the Great, became a master in Paris in 1302, and preached and taught in Paris, Strasburg, and Cologne. The archbishop of this latter city could not endure his lofty speculations, and in 1325 proceeded against him for heresy. He was first acquitted and then condemned. On February

ECKHART.

13, 1329, he made solemn declaration of innocence from the pulpit of the cloister-chapel of Cologne, but said that he would gladly recant any error into which he might have fallen. After Eckhart's death Pope John XXII pointed out seventeen propositions drawn from his writings which were erroneous, but declared that his conditional recantation cleared him from all heresy.

Eckhart was the Hegel of the Middle Ages. No bolder thinker ever appeared in the Church. He did not stop at God, but went beyond to the Godhead that was behind God. He taught the starkest pantheism, or monism, and yet underneath all these ethereal speculations and antinomies he held the Christian faith in a life of singular purity and devotion. His speculative thought seemed a castle which his mind had built for his theology, and underneath that he abode content in the house of the Church. “Creation is an eternal necessity of the divine nature. I am as necessary to God as God is to me. In my knowledge and love God knows and loves himself.” “The eye with which I see God is the same eye with which God sees me. My eye and God's eye are one eye—one vision, one recognition, one love.” “Couldst thou annihilate thyself for a moment, thou couldst possess all that God is in himself.” There is an uncreated attribute of the soul which will be satisfied with nothing less than its source in the eternal essence behind God. Of this something in the soul “I am wont,” he says, “to speak in my sermons, and sometimes I have called it

¹ Herzog, art. in Herzog-Plitt.

² For an account of these women see Preger, *Geschichte der deutschen Mystik*, vol. i, 1875.

a Power, sometimes an uncreated Light, sometimes a divine Spark. It is absolute and free from all names and forms, as God is free and absolute in himself. It is higher than knowledge, love, or grace. For between all these there is still distinction. In this power doth bloom and flourish God, with all his Godhead, and the Spirit flourisheth in God. In this power doth the Father bring forth his only begotten Son, as essentially as in himself, and in this light ariseth the Holy Ghost. This Spark rejects all creatures, and will have only God, simply as he is in himself. It rests satisfied with neither the Father, nor the Son, nor the Holy Ghost, nor with the three Persons, so far as each exists with its respective attributes. I will say what will sound more marvelous yet. This Light is satisfied only with the superessential essence. It is bent on entering into the simple Ground, the still Water, wherein is no distinction, neither Father, Son, nor Holy Ghost—into the unity where no man dwelleth. There it is satisfied in the light; there it is one; there it is in itself, as this Ground is a simple, stillness in itself, immovable; and yet by this Immobility are all things moved.”¹

Formerly our only knowledge of Eckhart was from his few German writings, which have reached us, but in 1886 Denifle discovered and published his Latin writings, which reveal a closer approach to Thomas Aquinas,² and even Weingarten says that his speculative system is much less peculiar and important than was his psychological deepening of personal piety and making it more inward.³ All the later German philosophers seem but to stand upon the shoulders of the holy Dominican preacher—Meister Eckhart. “Raise thyself to the height of religion,” says Fichte. “and all veils are removed; the world and its dead principle pass away from thee, and the very Godhead enters into thee anew

¹ Vaughan, *Hours*, i, 190, 191; Martensen, *Meister Eckhart*, Hamb., 1842, pp. 26, 27; Schmidt, in *Studien u. Kritiken*, 1839, 3, 707, 709.

² Denifle, *Meister Eckhart*, lateinische Schriften u. die Grundausschauung seiner Lehre, in *Archiv f. Lit. und Kirchengesch. des Mittelalters*, Bd. ii, 1886.

³ *Zeittafeln und Ueberblick zur Kirchengesch.*, 3d ed., Rudolstadt, 1888, p. 121. Vaughan, i, 188–199, gives copious extracts from the writings of Eckhart, and an excellent discussion of his thought, pp. 204–212; Seth, a profound analysis, in his art. on *Mysticism* in the *Encyc. Brit.*, 9th ed. (xvii, 140); one of the best monographs is by Lasson, *Meister Eckhart*, Berlin, 1868. The work of Vaughan on the Mystics is a marvel of genius and learning. It is remarkable how its judgments have been confirmed by more recent scholarship. For instance, when Seth says that Eckhart approaches more nearly to Schelling at some points than to Hegel it is no more than Vaughan says (p. 212, note). How like the infinite prodigality of God to let this rare and brilliant mind cease from its earthly work at the age of thirty-four!

in its first and original form, as life, as thine own life, which thou shalt and oughtest to live."¹

The master's great pupil, John Tauler (c. 1300-1361), brought down Eckhart's philosophy from the clouds, humanized it, and made it a living power among men. As Uhland says:

To long, and weave a woof of dreams,
Is sweet unto the feeble soul,
But nobler is stout-hearted striving,
That makes the dream reality.²

Tauler was the son of a Strasburg burgher, educated at the Dominican convent at Strasburg and at Cologne, entered the Dominican Order, preached at Strasburg, Cologne, and other places, remained at Strasburg during the scourge of the Black Death, 1348 and after, corresponded with the Friends of God, and leavened all southwestern Germany with the principles of the Gospel. Tauler stood squarely on the platform of Eckhart in all his speculative ideas. A recent historian and fellow-countryman of Tauler has summed up his whole position and work in a few admirably terse and comprehensive words. Moeller furnishes a fine analysis of Tauler's central thought:

"Tauler follows in the line of Eckhart's mysticism—the idea of the divine abyss, in which God and all things rest in perfect unity; of the eternal issuing of God into the distinction of persons and of his eternal return; of the nature of God, who alone is life and nature in all things; of the formation of man according to the eternal type in his Son, and the transformed image or spark of God in the depth of the soul from which the created image of God in man is so fashioned that it produces his Son in man also. But these speculative elements, in the interest of pious government of souls, in close attachment to the doctrine and saving ordinances of the Church, are here developed with great warmth and impressiveness, with the apprehension of the divine grace in word and sacrament on the basis of repentance; that is, aversion from everything that is not God, and turning toward the unmixed good, which is God. The apprehension of the divine forgiveness of sins brings great peace and trust in God's promise, and kindles the flame of love which seeks to serve God eternally. As we begin naked and empty of all things, the inspiration of the divine communication of grace

¹ *Anweisung zum sel. Leben*, p. 470 (quoted by Vaughan, i, 212).

² *Die Sehnsucht und Träume* Weber

Sie sind der weichen Seele süß,

Doch edler ist ein starkes Streben

Und macht den schönen Traume gewiss.

advances upon the different degrees of the beginning, increasing and perfecting man on to the mystical end of being raised in and up to the divine nature in which man becomes one life and nature with God. With all the ascetic ideas which influence him, his cordial liberal spirit and pastoral tact preserve Tauler from a narrow legalistic conception, and, on the other hand, from losing himself in Quietism. The dying away of the personal will is accompanied side by side by the sober fulfillment of the duty of loving one's neighbor, which is more important. His sermons, for the most part but not exclusively preached before monastic congregations, explain the high esteem in which he was held as a pastor among the pious and even in wider popular circles."

Tauler's intensely spiritual conceptions and moral earnestness made him in a real sense a Reformer before the Reformation, a John the Baptist of Luther, although neither he nor any other of the German Mystics set themselves against the doctrines of the Church. In and of the old Church, they unconsciously worked powerfully for the New Age. Hence Luther says: "If you would be pleased to make acquaintance with a solid theology of the good old sort in the German tongue, get John Tauler's sermons. For neither in Latin nor in our own language have I ever seen a theology more sound or more in harmony with the Gospel." He represented the purest type of Mysticism, and in insisting on personal responsibility to God, freedom from the thralldom of authority, and the worthlessness of good works without the renewal of the inward life, he anticipated the message which sounded forth from that Wittenberg Church two hundred years later, and in 1521 said: "A heart that has laid Christ at the foundation of his hopes will find in Tauler such a light for improvement, for worship, for purity, for sanctification to God, for God's fear, for spiritual wisdom, that he will rejoice in the faithful and precious results to his soul." The Roman Catholic Alzog calls him the "sweet, the amiable, and the profound John Tauler"—*Doctor Sublimis et Illuminatus*.¹

Tauler's supposed conversion is involved in obscurity. On the basis of the *Meisterbuch*, or the History of the Life of Dr. John Tauler, it is commonly assumed that in the first period of his career as a preacher he simply reproduced the sentiments of Eckhart, but with no spiritual power or fruits. Then he was visited by the "Friend of God in the Oberland," Nicholas of Basel, who so impressed him with a sense of his personal need of pardon and peace that for two years he refrained from preaching, until he should be

¹ Church Hist., Middle Ages (1893), pp. 470, 471.

² Ep. to Spalatin.

³ Church Hist., ii, 994.

endued with power from on high. Then he stepped into the pulpit again, and there followed his marvelous triumphs as a preacher. This is the theory accepted by Professor C. Schmidt¹ of Strasburg, by Miss Winkworth,² by Keller,³ and by Mrs. Frances Bevan.⁴ But Denifle has subjected this theory to a most searching criticism,⁵ and if he does not completely explode it he yet makes it no longer tenable as an explanation of Tauler's life. Denifle shows that the Meisterbuch is not historical, that the Meister was not Tauler, that the stranger from the Oberland was not Nicholas of Basel, and that instead of history we have a writing in the interest of a tendency. Preger, who has given us the latest and best account of Tauler, agrees with Denifle in the main, but holds to the fact of the conversion, and so far to the genuineness of the Meisterbuch, standing, however, with Denifle in striking Nicholas out of the account.⁶

Henry Suso (the Amandus, 1291-1365) was one of the brilliant Mystics of this time. He, too, was a Dominican, educated at the Dominican convent at Constance and at Cologne ^{suso.} under Eckhart, and afterward became rector and prior at Constance. He was more enthusiastic and poetical than Eckhart or Tauler in his adoration of the eternal Wisdom. His formula was, "Man should completely divest himself of the

¹ Johann Tauler von Strassburg, Hamb., 1841.

² Transl. of Meisterbuch and the Sermons of Tauler, Lond., 1857; N. Y., ed. by R. D. Hitchcock, 1858.

³ Die Reformation und die älteren Reformparteien, Leipz., 1835.

⁴ Three Friends of God: Records from the Lives of John Tauler, Nicholas of Basel, and Henry Suso, Lond., n. d. [1887], 3d ed., 1893.

⁵ Tauler's Bekehrung, Strassb., 1879. See Jackson in Presb. Rev., 1881, 606, 607.

⁶ Gesch. der deutschen Mystik in Mittelalter, Leipz., 1893, vol. iii. The common tradition is expressed in the 1st ed. of Herzog and in McClintock and Strong. Both Kurtz, 10th ed., ii, 175, 176, and Möller, ii, 473, 474, agree with Denifle in ascribing the Meisterbuch to Rulman Merswin. Möller says that Schmidt himself afterward gave up the identification of the Friend of God from the Uplands with Nicholas of Basel. Equal obscurity rests on Tauler's works. All acknowledge the eighty sermons, but Denifle and Preger reject the Book of Spiritual Poverty (of the Imitation of the Poverty of Jesus Christ), while Schmidt and Kurtz admit this latter, Schmidt calling it Tauler's masterpiece. The Meditation on the Life and Passion of Jesus Christ, transl. Lond., 1889, and the Institutiones Divinæ, also called Medulla Animæ, are not by Tauler. A selection from his writings, Golden Thoughts on the Higher Life, transl. by M. A. C., with introd. by Prof. T. M. Lindsay, was published in Glasgow in 1896. Gow, John Tauler, in Bapt. Rev., iv (1882), 143, ff. and Bennett, John Tauler and his Theology, in Meth. Quar. Rev., li (1869), 45, are excellent, though written before the new light of Denifle. The latter gives an excellent conspectus of Tauler's theology.

carnal nature by imitating Christ's sufferings, and, thus transformed, sink into the depths of the divine essence. To reach this three steps are to be passed through: Purification, or the deadening of carnal desire; Illumination, or the filling the soul with forms of divine truth; Perfection, or the fullest enjoyment of heavenly bliss." He joined his master Eckhart against the Brethren of the Free Spirit, but he himself fell under suspicion, and was deposed from his priorate in 1333. But this was all that was done. His books enjoyed wide vogue, and he was one of the most influential spirits of this rich time.¹

John of Ruysbroek (1293-1381) spent his life in and around Brussels, a part of the time priest in the city and later an Augustinian monk in the neighboring village, Gröndal. He made Eckhart's Mysticism popular in the North. Fallen man can only be restored through grace, which elevates him above the conditions of nature. Three stages of the Christian life are to be distinguished: The operative, which proceeds to conquer sin and draw near to God through good works. Then comes the subjective or emotional, in which the ascetic practices come to the aid of the soul. The soul becomes indifferent to all but God, and is penetrated by the Spirit of God, and revels in visions and ecstasies. Highest of all is the contemplative state—the *vita vitalis*, which is an immediate knowing and possessing of God, leaving no remains of individuality in the consciousness, and concentrating every energy on the contemplation of God. The soul is led on from glory to glory, until it becomes conscious of its essential unity with God. In this, Ruysbroek does not desire to deny personality, but simply to assert the giving up of all thought and desire independently of God. He claimed to write under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, and his daring flights into the empyrean excited the strong opposition of Gerson.²

JOHN OF
RUYSBROEK.

These and other German mystics of the fourteenth century formed an undesigned association—not a sect, nor a society, nor a brotherhood—the Friends of God, which consisted of monks, nuns, priests, laymen, who had all been touched

FRIENDS OF
GOD.

¹ His works are *On the Eternal Wisdom*, 1838, *On the Eternal Truth*, and *his Life*, Augsb., 1482. Best ed. of theological writings by Denifle, München, 1876-80, 3 vols.; best ed. of *Life* by Diepenbroek, Ratisb., 1829, 3d ed., Regensb., 1854. Schmidt, Henry Suso, in *Studien und Krit.*, 1843, No. 4; Bevan, *Three Friends of God*, Lond., 1887. The book *On the Nine Rocks* (*Von den neun Felsen*), long attributed to Suso, was written by Rulman Merswin in 1392.

² Two excellent monographs are by Engelhardt, *Richard v. St. Victor* and *J. Ruysbroek*, Erl., 1838, and Schmidt, *Étude sur Jean Ruysbroch*, Strasb., 1863, and art. in Herzog by same.

by the new piety. Their relation to each other, entirely free, was kept up by personal intercourse, by correspondence, and by the communion of the Spirit. Many women in the convents of northern Germany, by their earnest piety and fine literary gifts, were prominent members of this band. A rich banker of Strasburg, Rulman Merswin (1307-82), became enamored of the mystical life, retired from business, devoted his money to benevolence, bought the island of the Green-Wort, on the Ill, near Strasburg, and established there a house of God, a retreat for the Friends of God, and retired there himself for prayer, study, and writing. Among his books are the Master Book, printed as a history of the venerable Doctor Tauler, which is in part history and in part fiction; On the Nine Rocks, and The Little Banner Book.¹ It was formerly thought² that Nicholas of Basel, who was burned for heterodoxy in Vienna about 1395, was a chief teacher among the Mystics and the instructor of Tauler. But it has now been shown that Nicholas was, rather, of the sect of the Free Spirit.³

This religious revival under the Mystics found expression in an organization more closely knit than the Friends of God—**the Brethren of the Common Life.**⁴ The founder was Gerhard Groot (1340-84), of Deventer, a pupil of Ruysbroek. He went about the diocese of Utrecht preaching righteousness and self-denial, and finally about 1394, at Deventer, he formed the idea of associating like-minded spirits of both sexes in a free community, in which, without vows, they would devote themselves to chastity and obedience, to the study of the Bible, to copying sacred books, to manual toil, and to a life of Christian service to others. A community of goods and ordinary monastic routine prevailed, but the whole rested on a purely voluntary principle. Love was the only constraining bond. These "brother and sister houses" spread everywhere through the Netherlands and North Germany. The brothers heard confessions, received children to educate, preached in a simple and earnest way, copied and circulated good books, engaged in works of mercy, and were everywhere centers of piety and intelligence. It was to this community that Thomas à Kempis (d. 1417) belonged. He was canon of their mon-

BRETHREN OF
THE COMMON
LIFE.

¹ This last ed. by Jundt, 1879, the Rock Book by Schmidt, 1859.

² Schmidt, Gottesfreunde, 1854.

³ See authorities mentioned in note, p. 860. Also Haupt, On the Sect of the Free Spirit and the Beghards, in Zeitsft. für Kircheng., vii, iv, 1885. On the Friends of God, see Jundt, Les amis de Dieu, Paris, 1879, and Preger, Geschichte der deutschen Mystik, vol. iii, Leipz., 1893.

⁴ Fratres communis vite; Fratres devoti; Fratres bonæ voluntatis; Fratres collationarii.

astery on the Agnetenberg, near Zwolle, and lived here a long life of ascetic contemplation, writing books of devotion, "a child of peace, of the love of God, and of the discipline of the inner life." It was here he wrote that classic of the religious life, *On the Imitation of Christ*, which has been printed in more editions than any other book except the Bible, and has expressed the longings of innumerable souls of all creeds and nations—a book which Wesley published for his societies, and which George Eliot held in her hand when dying. *The Imitation* is the flower of Mysticism. It fairly quivers with the heart-beats of one to whom the love of Christ is a passion. It expresses one side of the holy life so perfectly that it can never die. Yet it is a book of the fourteenth century, its ideal is ascetic, miraculously free indeed from the errors of Rome, speaking to the universal heart of the Church, but moving entirely within the monastic grooves, a product, not of the faith that overcometh the world, but of the love which seeks God in self-renunciation and meditation.¹

THOMAS A
KEMPIS.

Out of that same atmosphere by which the Friends of God and the Brethren of the Common Life prepared for the Reformation came another famous hand-book of mystical devotion, A German

¹ Stalker has excellently criticised this one-sidedness (pp. 15-39), and has sought to provide a larger *De Imitatione Christi* in his fine work, *Imago Christi*, Lond. and N. Y., 1889. For further discussion of defects of Kempis's book, see Milman, *Latin Christianity*, viii, 209-301. It is hardly fair to say that the book is absolutely selfish in its aims and acts. The love of man, the service of man, is rather taken for granted than inculcated. The very idea of the Brothers of the Common Life was sacrifice for others; theirs was a piety that communicated itself. A facsimile of the earliest MSS. (1425) of the *De Imitatione Christi* was published in Lond., 1879, with Introd. by Ruelens. About 1873 Hirsche, of Hamburg, discovered the fact that in its original form the book was written in rhythmical cadences, rhyme, and balanced sentences, and he published an edition restoring the text to its first form, Berlin, 1874, and an English translation according to this restoration was published in Lond., 1889, with preface by Liddon. See Hirsche, *Prolegomena zur einer neuen Ausgabe der Imitatio Christi*, 2 vols., Berl., 1873-83. The age-long debate on the authorship of the *Imitation*—whether by Kempis or Gerson, has settled down on the former, scholars generally agreeing to this. It has been demonstrated with almost absolute certainty by Amort and Malon, *Recherche historique et critique sur le véritable auteur*, etc., Tournay, 3d ed., 1858; by Spitzen, *Thom. à K. als Schriver der Nachfolging*, Utrecht, 1880; and Kettlewell, *The Authorship of the De Imit. C.*, Lond. and N. Y., 1877, and his *Thomas à Kempis and the Brothers of the Common Life*, 2 vols., 1882. These books of Kettlewell are loving tributes by a patient and enthusiastic investigator, who searched the monasteries of Belgium for materials for his book on Thomas as earnestly as Sabatier did those of Italy for his book on Francis. On the *Imitation*, see Faulkner in *Chr. Adv.*, N. Y., May 5, 1887.

Theology, written by an inmate of the house of the Teutonic Order at Frankfort-on-the-Main some time in the fifteenth century. The oldest manuscript of this work dates from 1497. Like many mystical writings, it is anonymous. It was first published by Luther in an incomplete form in 1516, and in full in 1518, and the great Reformer praises it highly as a "spiritually noble little book on the right difference and understanding of what are the old and the new man, and how Adam must die away and Christ arise in us." Though the best product of mediæval Catholicism, it was placed in the Index in 1621, perhaps on account of its vast vogue among Protestants, who found much to admire in its simple heartfelt piety and evangelical conceptions, yet pervaded by the noblest principles of Mysticism. The fact that the book was put into Luther's hand by Staupitz, the vicar-general of the Augustinian Order, shows that Luther's high estimate of it was shared by the best spirits in the Old Church. In its searching and profound apprehension of the nature of sin it is differentiated from Catholicism, but stands in close relation to Protestantism.¹

Were the German Mystics of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the precursors of Protestantism? Yes and No. They were not Protestants. They did not consciously deviate from the beaten path of the Church's dogmatic system, which was held as a necessary framework under their airy superstructures. They did not preach against any of the ordinary practices or teachings of the Church, as did the Waldenses and Reformers, nor did they appeal, as these did, to the Bible as the final and perennial source of truth. The old method of speaking of these men as "Reformers before the Reformation" is no longer tenable. In fact, the Mystic could worship the Bible as little as he could worship the Church. The Interior Revelation was his altar.

On the other hand, the Mystics worked powerfully, though unconsciously, for the better day. The traditional system was not attacked. It was simply dissolved. As Seth Strikingly says: "Mysticism instinctively recedes from formulas that have become stereotyped and mechanical into the perennially fresh experience of the individual. In the first place, therefore, it brings into prominence only these broad and universal

¹ Best ed. by Pfeiffer, Stuttg., 1851, 3d ed., Gütersloh, 1855. Trans. by Miss Winkworth, with pref. by C. Kingsley, Introd. by C. E. Stowe, Andover, 1856. new ed., Phila., 1887. See Lisso, *Die Heilslehre der Theologia Deutscher*, Stuttg., 1859; Ashwell, *Theologia Germanica*, in *Companions to Devout Life*, Lond. and N. Y., new ed., 1877, pp. 167-180.

doctrines which it finds to be of vital and present moment for the inward life, while others, though they may have an important place in the churchly system, are (unconsciously) allowed to slip into temporary forgetfulness. It is thus we must explain that almost total absence of distinctively Roman doctrine in Thomas à Kempis which makes the *Imitation* as acceptable to a Protestant as to a devout Catholic. In the second place, Mysticism accustoms men to deal with their experience for themselves at first hand, and to test the doctrines presented to them by that standard. Thus the growth of spiritual freedom is especially to be marked in the German Mystics. It is to be noted, however, that Mysticism affords in itself no foundation for a religious community. Its principle is pure inwardness, but it possesses no norm by which the extravagances of the individual may be controlled. Thus, when the Reformers appeared to do their work, the Mystics were found opposing the new authority of Scripture to the full as bitterly as they had opposed the old authority of the Church. To the thorough-going Mystic individualist the one standard is as external as the other. When Cellarius was called upon by Luther to substantiate his positions by reference to Scripture he struck the table with his fist and declared it an insult to speak so to a man of God. A germ of reason may be discerned in this indignation, but none the less we must recognize that, while Mysticism showed itself capable at the Reformation of dissolving society into anarchy and atomism, it showed itself perfectly destitute of a reconstructive power. The same people who would claim the pre-Reformation Mystics as Protestants in disguise are indignant at the way in which the later Mystics oppose, or hold aloof from, the Reformation movement. But the truth seems to be that, in both cases, Mysticism was true to its principle. Without some fixed letter to attach itself to, it sinks away into utter formlessness; but its relation to the system is always more or less one of opposition to what it regards as external."¹

The Mystic looked to God, and not to the Church; he turned his gaze upon himself, and not upon his priest. His whole attitude presaged a revolt. His life was fed not by sacraments, but by communion with God, by study, by meditation. The ecclesiastical organization was not a necessity to him, but God in Christ was. Traditionalism and ecclesiasticism were not his emphasis, but holiness and rapt communion. The necessary intermediaries of a thousand years were thrown aside. All Germany was sowed deep with the seed of truth and piety, which bore fruit in later years,

¹ Mysticism, *Encyc. Brit.*, 9th ed.

and Eckhart, Tauler, Gerhard Groot, and a Kempis were the John the Baptists of the Reformation. The glowing truths for which Mysticism stood have found their true home in Protestantism, where, through reverence for the Scriptures as the supreme authority both in faith and morals, they are guarded from becoming the fuel of fanaticism.

¹ On the relation of Mysticism to Methodism, see Faulkner in *South. Meth. Rev.*, Jan., 1886, 72, ff.

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CHAPTER I.

MEDIEVAL THEOLOGY.

It is one of the strangest ironies of history that the favorite Father among the Protestant Reformers, the teacher of Calvin and of Luther, should be the true founder of Catholic theology. And yet that is the undoubted position of Augustine. History, like human life, is full of inconsistencies, not ordered on primary considerations, but leaving a large margin for caprice and free will. The Reformers before the day of Luther—Wiclif, Hus, Wessel, and others—fed on Augustine, and the Reformers saluted him as one of themselves. Schaff¹ well says: "No Church teacher did so much to mold Luther and Calvin; none furnished them so powerful weapons against the dominant Pelagianism and formalism; none is so often quoted by them with esteem and love." Luther calls him the most pious, grave, and sincere of the Fathers, the patron of divines, who taught a pure doctrine, and submitted it in Christian humility to the Holy Scriptures. The Reformer thinks that if Augustine had lived in the sixteenth century he would have been a Protestant.² The Protestant elements in Augustine are his emphasis on grace and on the depravity of man and our absolute dependence on God for any good thing; his love of the Holy Scriptures; and his freedom from many of the later corruptions of Rome, such as transubstantiation, papal infallibility, mariolatry, and indulgences. Calvin was fashioned on his predestinarianism, and this gave rise to the famous sentence and most characteristic judgment of Gibbon: "The rigid system of Christianity which he [Augustine] framed and restored has been entertained with public applause and with secret reluctance by the Latin Church. The Church of Rome has canonized Augustine and reprobated Calvin. Yet as AUGUSTINE AND CALVIN. the real difference between them is invisible even to a theological microscope, the Molinists are oppressed with the authority of the saint, and the Jansenists are disgraced by their resemblance to a heretic. In the meanwhile the Protestant Arminians

¹ Augustine's Life and Work, in Post-Nicene Fathers, Series I, vol. i, p. 27.

² See his judgments on the Fathers in his Colloquia, ed. H. E. Bindseil, 1863, iii, 149.

stand aloof and deride the mutual perplexity of the disputants." A Roman Catholic scholar, Gongauf, concedes that Luther and Calvin built their doctrinal system mainly on Augustine, but with only partial right.² Yes, verily with only partial right. For a deeper view shows the wide chasm between Augustinianism and Protestantism, and reveals Augustine as the real father of Catholicism. Luther himself saw this, for in one place he says: "Augustine often erred; he cannot be trusted; though he was good and holy, yet he, as well as other Fathers, was wanting in the true faith."

For what is the essence of Roman Catholic theology? It is this: the Church of Christ, having its center in Rome, dispensing divine grace through the sacraments by a valid ministry constituted in an episcopate having succession from the apostles. And thus we have a vast ecclesiasticism, resting its head at Rome, and ordained by God as the saviour of the nation, without which there can be no salvation. It is to Augustine that we are indebted for this conception, systematized, enriched, and irradiated with his genius and piety, and this he handed on to the Middle Ages, thus making the Roman Catholic Church what it is. Allen says: "For a thousand years those who came after him did little more than reaffirm his teaching, and so deep is the hold which his long supremacy has left upon the Church that his opinions have become identified with divine revelation and are all that the majority of the Christian world yet know of the religion of Christ."³ The biographer of the great theologian of the Middle Ages says that as the "Angelical professor [Aquinas] professed St. Augustine's Rule, so also he imbibed his spirit. St. Augustine forms the pedestal upon which stands the peaceful figure of the *Summa Theologica*;"⁴ and Cardinal Norris sums up the debt of Catholicism to Augustine in the pregnant words: *Ad Augustinum non itur nisi per Thomam.*⁵ Cathol-

¹ Gibbon adds: "Perhaps a reasoner still more independent may smile in his turn while he peruses an Arminian commentary on the Ep. to the Romans." *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, iii, 508, note (ch. xxxiii). For an Arminian deriding the mutual perplexity of the disputants he refers to Le Clerc, *Bibliothèque Universelle*, xix, 144-398.

² *Des heil. August. Lehre von Gott dem dreieinigen*, Augs., 1866, p. 28.

³ *Continuity of Christian Thought*, p. 170.

⁴ R. B. Vaughan, *St. Thomas Aquinas: His Life and Times*, ii, 529. This is the most prodigious monument ever reared in English to the life of an ancient or mediæval saint or father—2 vols. of 1,000 pp. each. It is full of learning and breathes the spirit of piety, and wends its leisnrely way along by many a pleasant discussion. An abridged edition was published in one volume in 1875.

⁵ You can reach Augustine only by the way of Thomas Aquinas.

icism, whether Roman or Anglican, is summed up in Augustine's oft-quoted dictum: "I would not believe the Gospel unless the authority of the Catholic Church had moved me." This one declaration is a microcosm. In it is comprised a whole world of theological development and controversy. It was this sentence which made the Middle Ages.

The Protestant counterpart to Augustine's palladium of Catholicism is this: I would not believe the Gospel unless the authority of truth moved me. The authority that the Roman Church gives to organization is given to conscience by the Protestant Church. The consciousness of the affinity of the Catholic mind with Augustine and other Fathers is forcibly expressed by Cardinal Newman: "I recollect well what an outcast I seemed to myself when I took down from the shelves of my library the volumes of St. Athanasius or St. Basil, and set myself to study them; and how, on the contrary, when at length I was brought into Catholic communion, I kissed them with delight, with a feeling that in them I had more than all I had lost, and, as though I were directly addressing the glorious saints who bequeathed them to the Church, I said to the inanimate pages, 'You are now mine, and I am yours, beyond any mistake.'"¹

On this Schaff makes the following excellent comment: "With the same right might the Jews lay exclusive claim to the writings of Moses and the prophets. The Fathers were living men, representing the onward progress and conflicts of Christianity in their time, unfolding and defending great truths, but not unmixed with many errors and imperfections which subsequent times have corrected. Those are the true children of the Fathers, who, standing on the foundation of Christ and the apostles, and kissing the New Testament rather than any human writings, follow them only as far as they followed Christ, and who carry forward their work in the onward march of evangelical catholic Christianity."²

We shall indicate the thought of the Middle Ages concerning a few theological topics. To meet the Mohammedan objections to the Sonship of Christ two Spanish theologians, Elipandus of Toledo and Felix of Urgel, about 785, adopted the theory that only in his divine nature was Christ the Son of God, but that in his human nature he was adopted, being in this relation a servant of God like all of us. Alcuin and others strongly resisted this tendency to divide the unity of Christ's personality, and, although the explanation of Elipandus prevailed widely, yet by

DIVINITY OF
CHRIST.

¹ Difficulties felt by Anglicans in Catholic Teaching, ii, 3.

² Post-Nicene Fathers, Series I, vol. i, p. 19, note.

argument and by Church pressure and persecution the Spanish theories at length disappeared. The Mystics, who were the forerunners of much modern speculation, emphasized the oneness of Christ with humanity and with God—the restored Prototype of humanity. “As truly as God became man,” says Tauler, “so truly has man become God by grace, and this human nature is changed into what it has become, the divine image.” So also says Ruysbroek, “Christ had his divinity and humanity by nature; but we have it when we are united to him in love by grace.” But that marvelous book, *The German Theology*, went even farther: “When God and man are so united that truth itself must confess that there is One who is verily perfect God and perfect man, and when man is so devoted to God that God is there man himself, and that he acts and suffers without any I, or My, or to-Me, behold there is verily Christ and nowhere else.” “Where the life of Christ is, there is Christ himself; and where his life is not, there he is not.” There were no Unitarians in the Middle Ages. What would their pale negations have done with the Northern barbarians? The dogma of the divinity of Jesus Christ was a necessity of history; it was the essential preparation for the conversion of Europe.

The legal conception of the atonement, which was the only one possible in a Roman world, and which since Anselm has dominated the mind of the Church, was unknown in the early Church. The incarnation itself was atonement, the Lord working out the salvation of man by instruction (Clement of Alexandria), by his solidarity with our race (Irenæus), by the invincible moral power of his death (Origen), and by a victory over Satan (Irenæus and others). There is no hint of the finely wrought out scheme of Anselm. The nearest approach is the idea of Athanasius: as God threatened death as a consequence of sin he must exact it; but it would be unworthy of the divine goodness to allow man to die, to whom he had imparted his own Spirit; therefore the Word, who could not die, assumed a mortal body, and, offering his human nature a sacrifice for all, fulfilled the law by his death.

Anselm satisfied the mediæval mind completely. With the precision and balanced checks of a legal document he applied the principles of justice to unravel the mystery of salvation. In briefest form his theory is: man owes a perfect obedience to the divine law; no one has rendered it; this throws man into the infinite debt of God, and dooms him to eternal misery, since sin against an infinite being calls for infinite penalty. But the divine goodness

cannot allow that all should endlessly perish. How then can both goodness and justice be satisfied? Only an infinite being can pay an infinite debt, and yet man must pay it, for man incurred it. Therefore God himself becomes man and thus renders full satisfaction. The obedience of Christ even unto death possesses an infinite value, and is more than an equivalent for what the race would have suffered if punished forever. Thus the debt is paid, justice is satisfied, goodness is triumphant, and God can pardon sinners. This scheme was a long step in advance of a theory which had wide vogue in the ancient Church, that the atonement was a ransom paid to Satan. But Anselm's theory did not at first find universal acceptance. Hugo of St. Victor emphasized the moral effects of Christ's work in making man worthy to be free. Abelard definitely rejected Anselm's scheme, and so did Peter Lombard, that prince of orthodoxy of the twelfth century. These all worked toward a less mechanical conception. But Anselm's view was too consonant with the ideas of mediæval society not to win the day. It is a theory of feudalism, of monarchical governments—God a mighty sovereign exacting perfect obedience from his subjects, and exacting for his injured honor an awful reparation.¹

ANSELM.

The theory of Anselm contained a great truth, but was conceived in terms of Roman legalism. As to the extent of the atonement, there was never a breath of suspicion that it did not avail for the whole human race until the dark reasonings of Augustine threw a cloud over the divine purposes. In fact, the only question was whether it did not also avail in some sense for the whole intelligent creation. But if Augustine gave the theory of a limited atonement to Calvinism, Leo the Great met him with the magnificent challenge, that, so precious is the shedding of Christ's blood for the unjust, if the "whole universe of captives would believe in their Redeemer, no chain of the devil could hold them."

Augustine, however, was not without representatives in the matter of predestination in the Middle Ages. Gottschalk, a Saxon monk, threw himself passionately into the study of Augustine, and came therefrom with the firm conviction of the truth of his view. He wandered through Italy, Dalmatia, and Pannonia, asserting predestination, and even accusing his opponent at the synod of Mayence, in 847, of semi-Pelagianism. He was a predestinarian in no half-hearted or illogical way, for he taught the predestination of sinners (reprobation) as well as of saints, in a most uncompromising manner. With all its reverence for

PREDESTINATION.

¹ See the remarks of Allen, *l. c.*, p. 202.

Augustine the Church could not follow Gottschalk in this, and therefore proceeded to silence him. He was deprived of his priestly rank, his treatise was burned, and he was immured for life in the monastery of Hautvilliers, in the diocese Rheims. Predestinarianism has never fared well in the Catholic Church. Jansen did not meet with better success.

The mediæval conception of the Church was that it is a theocracy whose head was Christ, whose earthly head was the pope, authorized to bring men into its fold by baptism, and out of which there was no salvation. This divine society was commissioned both to teach and rule the world. It was one, holy, and Catholic, and to belong to it was absolutely necessary to salvation. This magnificent conception, like Anselm's theory of the atonement, was perfectly intelligible, and it had the merit of offering to a barbaric and disorganized world a common center and bond of unity, a general rallying point, which stood as an immovable and unchangeable Gibraltar amid the revolutions of history. The theory of the Catholic Church was a perversion and exaggeration of a great truth; but may it not have been permitted, in the order of Providence, for the purpose of receiving the pagan nations of Europe, and handing them over, measurably Christianized and civilized, to the modern and better Church? The mediæval doctrine of the Church served, in a way, as a schoolmaster for guiding to Christ. It was enforced with vast injustice and covered at one time or another a world of iniquity, but it served its day well in leading to the salvation of the nations. By and by it gave way to a more spiritual idea, which found heralds in Hus (d. 1415) and Wessel (d. 1489), who taught that the Church was the brotherhood of the elect, all who are united to Christ, whether united to the pope or not, by one faith, one hope, one love. But the idea of the Church as a close corporation, the guardian of truth, and to which all souls are delivered, is the most characteristic and influential doctrine of the Middle Ages.

The mechanical and formal theology of the ancient and mediæval Church is well illustrated by the doctrines of the Lord's Supper and baptism. Baptism is the life-giving laver of regeneration, the sacrament of salvation. "None can ascend into the kingdom of heaven except by the sacrament of baptism," says Ambrose; "indeed, it excludes none, neither infants nor him that is prevented by any necessity." It washes away the guilt of original sin and opens the gates

BAPTISM.

of heaven to the soul. The mediæval mind could not conceive of man made in the image of God, and through the incarnation and work of Christ divinely constituted as a child

of God, and sure of salvation until this gift is forfeited by actual and willful transgression. And so the Greek, Roman Catholic, and Anglican Churches teach baptismal regeneration, meaning by this, not a symbolical representation of what has been done in or for the soul, but that the water, through the grace of God, actually remits the stain of original sin and renews the soul. The child unbaptized, in case of death, is shut out from the vision of God, and goes to hell, but suffers there not necessarily the ordinary punishments of the damned, but a *levissima damnatio*, a deprivation of positive bliss in the limbo of infants—a neutral state of neither complete blessedness nor complete misery. The mediæval Church practiced baptism by immersion almost universally until the thirteenth century, when pouring or sprinkling came into general use. The Eastern Church has always employed the mode of immersion.

The ancient Church used almost any language it pleased in speaking of the Lord's Supper. But with all the exaggerated extravagance of Eastern imagery it never occurred to the Fathers that there was a literal change in the elements of bread and wine into the very substance of the body and blood of Christ. Such a crass and utterly heathenish conception—worthy of fetichism—was left to the darkest night of the darkest winter of the Dark Ages. The first to formally bring forward this doctrine was Paschasius Radbert, a monk of Corby, in his treatise *On the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Lord*, in 831. He was answered by a monk of the same monastery, Ratramnus (Bertram), in a clear and able work, 844, whose spirited protest against the magic materialism of Radbert made his book a great favorite with the Protestants, who first printed it at Cologne, in 1527. In fact, the later Roman Catholics could not persuade themselves that such an heretical book could proceed from so orthodox a source, and the synod of Verecelli, in 1050, condemned and burned it as a work of John Scotus Erigena. The view that it was unauthentically ascribed to Bertram prevailed in Roman Catholic circles until Sainte-Beuve, in 1655, and Jacques Boileau, in 1712, completely vindicated its genuineness. Ratramnus held that the body of Christ is present spiritually and in power, and Erigena, Herigar, Rabanus Maurus, and others defended this view.

This fact furnishes one of those pleasant commentaries on the dogma of infallibility which we have met before in the progress of this history—men in the odor of sanctity and orthodoxy holding views which were afterward pronounced false, and the Church pronouncing that to have been always the doctrine of Christians which

multitudes of doctors had rejected and of which many believers had never heard. But, as Cardinal Manning says, "the Church is the judge of history." After two hundred years another noble plea was made for a spiritual view of the Supper by a true successor of Bertram. Berengar of Tours, in his *On the Holy Supper*, between 1040-50, attacked transubstantiation as contrary to reason, to the Scriptures, and to the Fathers. But the grosser doctrine was now too deeply intrenched, too thoroughly consonant with the tendencies of the times, and too convenient for the Church's purposes to be displaced. The engines of the Church were turned against this great teacher, and although he was acquitted at the synod of Tours, in 1054, he was condemned at Rome in 1078, compelled to retract and to hide himself in obscurity.¹ Lanfranc was the leader of the Church forces in support of the new dogma. In 1215, at the Fourth Lateran council, transubstantiation was made an article of faith. The elevation and worship of the host, now so prominent a part in every Roman Catholic service, necessarily followed, being instituted in 1217 by Pope Honorius III.

The worship of the Virgin, which has practically displaced the worship of God in popular Roman Catholic devotion, **MARIOLATRY.** began in germ in the fifth century, though it is only in modern times that it has grown to enormous proportions. It did not play a great part in the Middle Ages. The mediæval theologians distinguished between higher and lower worship: *latria*, worship due to God alone; *dulia*, service due the saints; *hyperdulia*, due to the mother of Christ. The worship of the saints, similar to the local cults of the pagan religions, went on step by step with the worship of the Virgin, the childishness of the time assigning to each saint a special work or the protection of a special place, such as sending up prayers to St. Barbara, to avert war; to St. Roch, to avert the plague; to St. German, against the ague; to St. Catherine, as the patron of scholars; to St. Crispin, as the patron of shoemakers; to St. Eloy, as the guardian of horses; to St. Anthony, as the protector of pigs; and to St. Gertrude, to drive away rats.

The Church of the Middle Ages had a vivid idea of hell and pur-

¹ How it exalted the awful prerogative of the Church that to her was committed the tremendous power by a word of the priest to change bread and wine into the actual body and blood of Christ!

² There are recent studies of Berengar—by Brocking in *Zeitsch. f. Kirchengeschichte*, 1892, 2, 3, and by Schwitzer in a monograph on his life and doctrine, Stuttgart, 1892. The *De Sacra Cœna* (On the Holy Supper) was edited by Vischer, Berl., 1834.

gatory. Augustine started the fruitful idea of purgatory on its way, and Gregory the Great established it, while the great theologians, Aquinas, Bonaventura, and Bellarmine, materialized it, *ignem purgatorii esse corporeum*. Only those who die reconciled to the Church and not in mortal sin, or whom a priest "has a special reason for believing to have died in a state of grace," are assigned to purgatory, all others being consigned to hell, whose punishments are everlasting. The hopeful view of eternal punishment held by many of the most eminent Fathers of the ancient Church was destroyed by Augustine, although the daring thinker Erigena returned to the view of Origen, which looked to the ultimate restoration of all things in God. Dante's *Inferno* is a witness of the grotesqueness and horror of the popular views as to future punishment. The Mystics who stood in close relation to the Church did not vary from the orthodox conception, and it is to Henry Suso we owe the illustration of eternity repeated in so many pulpits since—the bird that carries away the earth by removing one grain of sand in a thousand years.

The doctrine of purgatory was useful to the penal and financial system of the Roman Church. The penalties attached to absolution in the sacrament of penance were often commuted by the payment of money or other gifts into the treasury of the Church, and these indulgences were available in purgatory for the imperfect dead. An indulgence is simply a commutation of these temporal penalties due to sins which remain within the purview of the Church after the sin has been absolved in the ordinary manner. The Church stands as the custodian and trustee of that vast accumulation of merits which has been heaped up by the infinite value of Christ's sufferings and by the sufferings and often martyrdoms of eminent saints; and upon this storehouse it is authorized by God to draw through the pope, and to place to the credit of those penitents who seek release from such temporal disabilities for sin as justly remain even after pardon. And as purgatory is in time, and not in eternity, the alms and other benevolent offerings made to procure an indulgence may be placed to the credit of souls suffering there, although the Church has never dogmatically decided, that such benefit will absolutely accrue to those waiting in the underworld, nor, if the benefit does so accrue, how or when it takes effect. It will be readily seen that this doctrine of indulgence, especially as attached to the fears and hopes of souls looking into the awful uncertainties of the other life, was a mighty engine for corruption, and that the Church must have been preternaturally saved from temptation to have avoided the chance of using this doctrine for her own purposes. That she did not avoid the temptation, but that indulgences became a

universal source of the most shameless trafficking is a matter of history. The protest against the trade was the first note of the Reformation.¹

¹ Henry Charles Lea, of Philadelphia, is the first historian to thoroughly elucidate the history of Indulgences, which he does in a work of remarkable research and chastened judgments—the third volume of his *History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences in the Latin Church*, Phila., 1896. For scholarly reviews, see *The Nation*, July 9 and Sept. 17, 1896 (Lxiii, 35, 216).

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- See also Literature under Scholasticism and Mediæval Theology.

CHAPTER LI.

THOMAS AQUINAS.

ABELARD's historical position is that of the premature hero for independence. In the acute thinker and impulsive Briton the twelfth century brought forward a divine who in the breadth of his vision and the freshness of his method anticipated the seventeenth century. In fact, in almost no writings of the Middle Ages do we breathe the modern spirit as we do in those of Peter Abelard. He was half a millennium in advance of his time. With a magnificent independence he challenged reason on the one hand and the dogmas of the Church on the other, and sought to find a secure basis for truth. With a truly Protestant spirit he went bravely about his work.

This was his thought: All science must be brought in defense of the faith. All the arts are God's gifts, and they must be used to advance his glory, even if they are at times perverted by bad men. The towering influence of Paul and of Augustine in the Church as compared, for instance, with Peter and Martin of Tours, was due to their larger intellectual equipment. Nor must we despise the ancient philosophers, who sought the truth according to their light, nor say that the Spirit could not speak to them. They also had a measure of God, and prophesied of the coming of the Messiah. The pure life of those heathen seers contrasts favorably with the vile life of the prelates of the present day. Plato even banished poets from his republic, while bishops now, on high festivals, instead of spending the time in praising God, invite jesters, dancers, and singers of libidinous songs to their tables, entertaining themselves for a whole day and night with such company, and then rewarding them with money intended for the poor. The critical reason must be used upon the Church and her doctrines. How otherwise can error be refuted? If we cannot reason upon matters of faith, what right have we "to attack others upon a matter with regard to which we think that we ought to be ourselves unassailed?" But, while vindicating and using reason and knowledge to the utmost, we must not think that faith reveals the beauty of the Lord only to those intellectually equipped for the vision. There is no aristocracy of knowledge or

ABELARD'S
SYSTEM.

of anything else in Christianity. The Spirit reveals himself to the childlike, and God is seen by the pure in heart. The heart is the center of theology. A holy life is more important than intellectual talents, and the feelings are an organ of God as well as the intellect. "The more we feel of God the more we love him; and with progress in the knowledge of him the flame of love grows brighter." Many ignorant people have fervid piety, and want only the ability to express the knowledge which inspiration bestows upon them. But out upon those teachers of theology who do not reform their lives!

Nothing shows more the modernness of Abelard's mind than his doctrine of the Scriptures. At a time when the views of the Church were utterly mechanical this great teacher had a truly living doctrine of inspiration. All Scripture is inspired. But there are degrees. All parts are not equally important for the same purpose. Errors and mistakes on unimportant matters are entirely consistent with absolute truth in matters of faith and morals. The sum of the Gospel is faith, hope, and charity. These suffice for salvation. We must always distinguish between things essential and things comparatively trivial.¹ Nor must the Church elevate the Fathers practically above the Scriptures or the conscience. The Fathers have no more authority than the truth gives them, and they frequently erred and contradicted one another.² If the Fathers were so frequently out of harmony with one another, why try to bring all men under the yoke of an artificial sameness of opinion? Why not leave room for search and inquiry, and what right has one man to judge another? God is the only judge of the conscience.

With such a new note as this is it any wonder that this brilliant lecturer should draw thousands to the school of Notre Dame in Paris, and, when sins and misfortunes and cruelties and persecutions had driven him into the wilderness, that innumerable students flocked to him in the desert and covered the ground with their tents and huts? No man in the twelfth century exercised a more quickening influence than Abelard, and if he had not in an evil moment thrown away his personal integrity in his sin with

¹ This is his golden word: *Sufficere salutis fortasse poterant ea, quæ evangelium de fide et spe et caritate tradiderat.*

² One of his most incisive works was his *Sic et Non*, in which he set forth the contradictions of the Fathers upon important matters of doctrine under rubrics. It was an epoch-making book, the prelude to the Reformation, of the time when men dared to appeal from tradition to reason, from names to facts.

Heloise it would have been hard to counteract his influence. Though he repented in sackcloth and ashes, and did all in his power to make reparation, yet that tragedy shadowed his life with an awful cloud and broke at once its unity, peace, and power. His opinions were condemned at the council of Soissons in 1121, and at the council of Sens in 1140. At this latter council the great prosecutor was St. Bernard of Clairvaux, who could neither understand nor appreciate the position of Abelard. The pope indorsed the condemnation, though he afterward in a measure retracted the censure, and allowed the sad, disappointed scholar to end his days as the honored guest of Peter the Venerable, abbot of the monastery at Clugny. There his life, now holy and beautiful, made a remarkable impression on Peter, who gave a striking account of his last days in a letter to Heloise, and who, for the benefit of his health, sent him to the priory of St. Marcel, near Chalons on the Saone, one of the most delightful situations in Burgundy. Here he died on April 21, 1142, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. Twenty years later the body of Heloise was laid beside his own, and in November, 1817, the coffin which contained their mingled dust was laid in the cemetery of Père-la-Chaise in Paris.

Abelard is often represented as a rationalist, in the modern sense, and Bernard is looked upon as a defender of precious truth against a reckless innovator. Cousin is in part responsible for this,¹ and Rémusat in his great monograph is always inclined to exaggerate the new elements of his subject's teaching, and even compares him to Voltaire.² But nothing can be farther from the

¹ Cousin calls Abelard the "father of modern rationalism."—*Hist. Gen. de la Philos.*, Paris, 1837, p. 327. In his ed. of Abelard's writings Cousin places him side by side with Descartes and characterizes both thus: "With their native originality one finds a disposition to admire but moderately what had been done before them or was being done by others in their time, an independence pushed often into a quarrelsome spirit, confidence of their own powers and contempt of their adversaries, more of consistency than of solidity in their opinions, more of acuteness than breadth, more of energy in the spirit and character than of elevation or profoundness of thought, more of ingenious contrivance than of common sense; they abound in individual opinions, instead of rising to the level of universal reason; are obstinate, venturesome, innovating, revolutionary."—*Ouvrages inédits d'Abelard*, pp. cxcix, cc.

² *Vie d'Abelard*, 2 vols., Paris, 1845, i, 270-273. Storrs, in his admirable *Bernard of Clairvaux*, N. Y., 1895, in the interest of an idealizing treatment of the monk—for his work is more a eulogy than a history—is disposed to disparage Abelard. Michelet's summary of Abelard's doctrines is an atrocious parody, and its effect is entirely false. See Michelet, *Hist. de France*, ii, 283-286 (Paris, 1835). Neander, iv, 373, ff., gives a reliable and objective summary.

truth than these gross representations. Although Abelard was in a true and noble sense an advocate of reason, that is, he held a place for reason and conscience in the investigation of truth, he stood solidly on the Christian faith, and vindicated it as revealed in the Scriptures, approved by the mind, and as verifying itself in the heart. He was never conscious of the slightest variation from the main doctrines of the Christian faith, though his principles did indeed contain the seeds of Protestantism. He never retracted nor explained away a line of his writings, and yet he was absolved by the pope, received as a saint and hero of the Church by one of the most orthodox of his contemporaries, Peter the Venerable, and all his writings show that the thought of taking any antagonistic attitude to the Church in its true and historic teaching, and in its moments of exaltation, never entered his mind. It was rather as her defender that he loved to be considered. No doubt there were at times crudeness and extravagance of thought, and no doubt also the holy and humble Bernard, who could understand nothing except the stereotyped dogmas defended in a stereotyped way, was right in believing that Abelard's ideas, if carried out farther than Abelard was willing to carry them, were the earnest of a revolution. The two men occupied different points of view, though both were equally zealous for truth. One represented tradition, the other reality; the one found authority in the organization, the other found it in the reason.

The greatest theologian of the Middle Ages, and, after Augustine, the father of Roman Catholic theology, was Thomas of Aquino, who was born of a noble family at Aquino, near Naples, in 1225 or 1227, and died in the Cistercian convent of Fossa Nuova, near Terracina, on March 6, 1274. He entered the Dominican order much against the wishes of his parents.¹ His life was spent entirely in teaching and study. At the universities of Cologne and Paris and at Naples, where he spent his last years, he was constantly engaged in lecturing on theology and related themes. He refused all ecclesiastical preferment, not wishing to be turned aside from his precious studies. "As rector of the university," says Neander, "during a very active life, and often traveling, he wrote in twenty years the greater part of his works, which treat a vast variety of subjects. It is said that he could dictate compositions on different subjects at the same

¹ We hear much nowadays from Roman Catholic writers about the sacred rights of parents, but the great Roman Catholic saints had supreme unconcern for their wishes even on matters affecting salvation.

time. It characterizes his theological speculations that he read daily some edifying books, for, as he expressed it, we should take care that nothing one-sided arise in our speculations. He used to begin his lectures and writings with prayer, and when in any inquiry he could find no solution he would fall on his knees and pray for illumination. While the originality and deep philosophy of his lectures brought a great multitude of hearers to him at Paris and Naples his sermons were so simple that the most uneducated could understand them. King Louis IX of France used to ask his advice in affairs of state. On one occasion he invited him against his will to dinner, when he was occupied with a very difficult inquiry. During the meal he became quite abstracted, and all at once cried out, 'Now at last I have found it!' His prior reminded him that he was seated at the king's table; but the king immediately allowed his secretary to come and write down his thoughts."¹

In 1323 Thomas was canonized by John XXII, and no man ever more deserved the honor. In 1567 he was made doctor of the Church by Pius V, a dignity often misunderstood. It does not mean that the Church vouches for all the sentiments of the man so honored, but that simply there is nothing specifically heretical in his writings, and that he stands forth as an eminent defender and expounder of the faith. In an encyclical dated August 4, 1879, Leo XIII recommended his works to the study of all Roman Catholic academies and theologians as the best antidote for false theories, and he mentions as his "chiefest and special honor, and one he shares not in common with any of the Catholic doctors, that the Tridentine Fathers in the midst of their conclave, for order's sake, desired to place the sermons of the Aquinate on the altar beside the books of sacred Scripture and the decrees of the sovereign pontiff, that they might seek therein counsel, guidance, and light."² Leo requires that in all Catholic schools the study of philosophy and theology should be based on St. Thomas.

It is the glory of Thomas, Doctor Angelicus, that by prayer, by the study of Holy Scripture, by a deference by no means slavish to previous theologians—for he frequently criticises them—and refers to Scripture texts more frequently than to them—he sought to establish the doctrine of the Roman Church on a rational and philosophical basis. The doctrinal creed of the

¹ History of Dogma, ii, 543.

² See this Encyclical in full in Talbot, Leo XIII: His Life and Letters, Bost., 1886, pp. 135-157.

Church, so far as then established, Aquinas considers of absolute truth, though the arguments of Church teachers are of only probable authority.¹ His exegetical methods are good, and he emphasizes the fact that it is the literal sense of Scripture which must guide us in the first instance. Everything must be built upon that.² But this devotion to the Scriptures does not help him, because they must be used in deference to the teaching of the Church. We must distinguish between those doctrines which may be worked out by the reason and those which are only known by revelation. Reason can prove that God exists, but it cannot find out his attributes. Anselm's ontological argument is rejected, but various teleological and cosmological arguments are offered instead. As to the Trinity, it is absolutely impossible to arrive at it by the road of the reason, and he who attempts it derogates from faith.³ He differs from his great teacher Albertus Magnus in holding that the world is not an emanation from God, but that it had its origin in God's will, although that will may have worked from eternity. He is not much better off, therefore, than Albertus. In fact, he inclines to believe that the world is eternal, and his final word is: "It is credible that the world had a beginning, but it is neither demonstrable nor knowable."⁴

As to the work of Christ, Aquinas holds that it was relatively, not absolutely, necessary. God might have found out another way. But since God chose this method it must be considered by far the most suitable, and we might say, from man's standpoint, necessary as well. In the doctrine of atonement he did not differ from Anselm. As to predestination, he held with Augustine, and thus we find the connecting link between the Catholic bishop of the fifth century and the Genevan Protestant of the sixteenth. In this he could have satisfied even the third chapter of the Westminster Confession, for he held that not only are the elect and reprobate unchangeably designated from eternity, but that their number is also fixed, so that they can be neither increased nor diminished. But there is a merciful method in God's predetermining millions of souls to hell before they are born. He does not actually induce or influence them to sin, but simply withholds his grace, and man falls by his own will. Grace is absolutely necessary to salvation. As to justification, he held with Augustine and

¹ *Summa Theol.*, i, quest. i, art. 8.

² *Omnes sensus Scripturæ fundantur super unum sensum literalem ex quo solo potest trahi argumentum.—Ibid.*, art. 10.

³ *Qui probare nititur Trinitatem personarum naturali ratione, fidei derogat.—Ibid.*, i, q. 32, art. 1.

⁴ *Ibid.*, i, 46, 2.

Catholic theology, that it is the infusion of divine grace inducing sanctification, and that man is justified by faith in the sense that in the act of faith is contained the admission that man is made righteous by the redemption of Christ. As to the merits of good works, he puts the matter with his usual clearness and discrimination, the mental processes of Aquinas working with all the precision of geometry: "A meritorious work of man may be considered in two aspects: first, as proceeding from the free will of man, and, secondly, as proceeding from the grace of the Holy Spirit. If it be considered from the first point of view there can be in it no merit of dignity or absolute desert, because of the inequality between man and God, whereby it is impossible for the creature to bring the Creator under absolute obligation. But if it be considered from the second point of view, as proceeding from the Holy Ghost, the work of man may have the merit of congruity or fitness, because it is fitting that God should reward his own grace as a thing excellent in itself."¹

Aquinas proved the necessity of the seven sacraments, and the immanence in them of the supernatural elements, and on all these doctrines, as well as on indulgences, intercession of saints, purgatory, and other tenets, he held the ordinary Roman Catholic teaching. He had a very materialistic conception of the resurrection, the body in glory being the same as now, even to the hair and nails, all the senses in perfect activity, the whole somewhat etherealized, yet altogether tangible. It was a fundamental position of Aquinas that the truths of reason are essentially one with divine truth, because reason is itself from God. Both science and faith, therefore, have their inalienable rights. There is nothing in Christianity contradictory to reason, although it was necessary to the salvation of men that God should reveal certain things transcending the grasp of reason.²

Aquina's great opponent was Johannes Duns Scotus, born probably at Duns, Berwickshire, Scotland,³ in 1260 or 1274, and died at Cologne in the splendor of his popularity DUNS SCOTUS. in 1308. He entered the Franciscan Order, lectured on philosophy

¹See Shedd, *Hist. of Doctrine*, ii, 330.

²Tennemann, *Hist. of Philosophy*, p. 266. The last complete ed. of the works of Aquinas was pub. at Parma, 1852-71, 25 vols., 4to. In 1882 a fine edition began in Rome under the patronage of Leo XIII, edited by Zigliara. The elaborate *Life* by Vaughan, 2 vols., 1871, 1872, was abridged in 1 vol., Lond., 1875.

³Some say at Dunstane, Northumberland, others at Dun (Down), in the north of Ireland.

and theology at Merton College, Oxford, to thirty thousand students, so say the exaggerated reports of the times, and went to Paris in 1304. In 1308 he was sent to Cologne to preach against the Beghards, where his brilliant career was soon cut off by apoplexy. In Scotus, Aquinas had an opponent worthy of his steel. Equally devoted to the orthodoxy of the Church, he differed radically from many of the fundamental conceptions of the Italian. He said that Aquinas sought in speculation, instead of in practice, the foundation of theology. Theology rests on faith, and faith is not speculative, but practical, an act of the will. "Will," he says, "is the mover in the whole kingdom of mind, and all things are subject to it." All truth rests on the absolute will of God, that is, true or good because he commands it, and for no other reason. Duns really disparaged reason, referring men to the absolute will of God, and thus he threw men back on the Church even more than did Aquinas, for only in the authority of the Church can we know the will of God.¹ As God freely wills, so God intended that man should freely will. The will is entirely self-determined, and man can will against both reason and motive.

Aquinas held that the Virgin inherited with all mankind the stain of original sin, but Duns contended against this so ably in Paris that in the enthusiastic imagination of his pupils her statue bowed to him as he passed through the hall to the cathedra. So consummate was his criticism that he has been called the Subtle Doctor. The Jesuits took up the theories of Scotus and became the determined advocates of his doctrines on freedom and on the immaculate conception. In a superficial view Scotus may seem the more hopeful thinker, but the fine emphasis of Thomas on the sweet reasonableness of truth contains the larger promise. "The aim of the present occupant of the papal see to reinstate Aquinas in his former prestige," says Allen, "if it has any significance at all, indicates a purpose to overcome Jesuit influence, and to put the Church, as far as is allowable, in harmony with reason. For this purpose it may be that no better instrument could have been chosen than the revival of the study of Aquinas."²

¹ The influence of the two contrary conceptions on history is well shown by Allen, in *Continuity of Christian Thought*, pp. 233, ff.

² *Continuity of Christian Thought*, pp. 236, 237. Davidson rightly argues in *Fort. Rev.*, N. Y., 1892, that Aquinas is hopelessly out of sympathy with modern thought. But this is due to his system, his adherence to the Roman traditions, whereas in various implications he is inconsistent with this, and these noble inconsistencies, as Allen remarks, are what may render his renewed study a means of advance for Rome.

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The Italian Dante Society will issue, 1897, ff., in about twenty parts, II *Codice Diplomatico Dantesco*,—photographic facsimiles of all documents bearing on the life and writings of Dante, with notes by Biagiand Passerini. The edition is limited to 300 copies, and is published by Hoepli, Milan. One of the largest collection of Dante books in the world is in Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y. It was founded by the beneficence of Professor Willard Fiske. In 1897 a large addition was made to this magnificent collection, so that now the Fiske Dante Library numbers 6,000 volumes. It contains the Nido-Beatino edition of Dante, Milan, 1477-78, of which there is only one other copy in the United States.

CHAPTER LII.

DANTE.

Hail poet, who for mortal men dost pour
 Strong wine of words that burn and sense that sears,
 Drawn from thy bleeding bosom's fiery core,
 And tempered with the bitter fount of tears.—*Ennius*.

THE Middle Ages are summed in Dante's Divine Comedy. Its life, its passion, its sin, its virtue, its ethics, the various phases of its history, its theology, and its learning, are all mirrored in Dante's immortal poem. The *Commedia* is a microcosm—a world within a world. To understand it is to understand the thirteenth century.

Dante Alighieri, "that singular splendor of the Italian race," as Boccaccio, his first biographer, calls him, was born in May, 1265, in a house which is still shown in the Piazza di San Martino, Florence. The name Alighieri was from his father's great-grandmother. His father was a lawyer, and the poet's idealism and vivid imagination and his intense interest in affairs of state, came by nature. He became a pupil of Brunetto Latini, studied diligently the ancient authors, and Boccaccio tells us that, "taken by the sweetness of knowing the truth of the things concealed in heaven, and finding no other pleasure dearer to him in life, he left all other worldly care and gave himself to this alone; and that no part of philosophy might remain unseen by him he plunged with acute intellect into the deepest recesses of theology, and so far succeeded in his design that, caring nothing for heat or cold, or watchings, or fastings, or any other bodily discomforts, by assiduous study he came to know of the divine essence and of the other separate intelligences all that the human intellect can comprehend." Another early biographer speaks of his "study of philosophy, of theology, astrology, arithmetic, his reading of history, the turning over many curious books, watching and sweating in his studies;" and says that in this way he "acquired the science which he was to adorn and explain in his verses." The old historian of Florence, Giovanni Villani, has left a picture of Dante's teacher in these words: "He was a great philosopher and consummate master of rhetoric, not only knowing how to speak well but how to write well. He it was who explained the rhetoric of Tully and made the good and useful book called *The Treasury*, and *The Little Treasury*, and *The Key of the Treasury*, and other works

in philosophy and of vices and virtues, and he was secretary of our commune. He was a worldly man;¹ but we have made mention of him because he both began and directed the growth of the Florentines, both in making them ready in speaking well and in knowing how to guide and direct our republic according to the rule of politics."

Dante became thoroughly saturated with all the learning of the day, besides attaining some proficiency in music and painting. The eminent Dante scholar, Scartazzini, appeals to the best document we have as evidence of the thoroughness of his training, "the man himself, as he appears in his works. There we see a man of information no less vast than profound; a man possessing all the science of his time, accurate, and scrupulously exact in small things as well as in great. There we find a proud-spirited man, nourishing in his soul the most overweening contempt for all that degrades or disgraces a man, not only in the eyes of his fellow-men, but also before his own internal judge. Here is a man of noble haughtiness, who renounces his dearest and sweetest hopes rather than humble himself before overbearing injustice. Here is a man who, being no 'timid friend of the truth,' openly manifests what 'to many is a savor of strong bitterness,' in order not to lose life among posterity."² "Here is a man," says Scartazzini, "who loves his own fame, indeed, but still more the good of his fellow-men, and who writes his immortal works in order to help them by withdrawing them from the state of misery and directing them toward the state of bliss. This man, we say, could not have been what he was if in his tender years anything had been neglected in his education. A field in which such fruits ripen must needs have been cultivated early with the greatest care and with the most tender and anxious solicitude."³ Like all the great poets, Dante was a man of wide information and culture, in this respect most resembling Milton.⁴

¹ With fine justice Dante, in spite of his affection for him, banishes him to hell. See *Inf.*, xv, 22, ff., where there are some touching lines concerning his old teacher. Butler, in his edition of the *Inferno*, p. 174, note 30, says that the idea that Brunetto was Dante's teacher is a myth, "for which there is no evidence." But in *Inf.*, xv, 85, Dante expressly refers to him as his teacher of ethics, and Scartazzini is more reliable when, in his notes on the text and in his *Dante Handbook*, p. 26, he upholds the "myth."

² *Parad.*; xvi, 116-120.

³ *Dante Handbook*, pp. 28, 29. In the beginning of his *Quæstio de Aqua et Terra* Dante tells us that "from childhood up he was continually nurtured in the love of the truth."

⁴ Even Burns is no exception. The popular idea that he was an untutored

When Dante was nine years of age he first set eyes on the "glorious lady of his heart, Beatrice," for whom he conceived an unquenchable Platonic affection, which he describes with exquisite beauty and pathos in his *Vita Nuova*, and which he carried with him through life. It is Boccaccio, and not Dante, who tells us that Beatrice was the daughter of Folco Portinari, that she married de Bardi, and died in 1290, in her twenty-fourth year. Dante idealized her and made her the personification of divine wisdom, and as such she leads him through the glades of paradise. He himself married Gemma Donati, a member of one of the most powerful Guelph families of Florence, by whom he had six sons and one daughter. He took active part in the disturbed political world of Florence, though we cannot go into the details of the keen life and those bitter strifes which were characteristic of Florence for many years. After many honors and reverses he was banished, in January, 1302, and never after saw his native city. His final refuge was Ravenna, where, under the protection of Guido Novello da Polenta, he died, September 14, 1321. So late as May 27, 1865, his bones were accidentally discovered in the wall of the Church of St. Francis, Ravenna, were identified beyond all doubt, and reburied there. Various efforts were made by Florence to recover the bones of the poet whom living she had cast out. In 1864 the municipality of Florence made a final but noble and sad request "to obtain as a fraternal gift the restitution of the remains of Dante, and to be allowed to place on the spot where they had been preserved an inscription recording the generosity of Ravenna and the gratitude of Florence." Ravenna again declined, and there the matter rests.¹ It was not until 1830 that Florence raised a monument to her most illustrious son, completing the honor by a statue on the six hundredth anniversary of his birth. Dante's family became extinct in the sixteenth century.

To the Church historian perhaps the two works of Dante most plowman is no longer held. He was an enthusiastic student of the poets and of all the books he could get. As to Dante's wide reading, it is said that the *Vulgate* is quoted or referred to more than three hundred times, Vergil about two hundred, Ovid about one hundred, Cicero and Lucian about fifty each, Statius and Boethius between thirty and forty each, Horace, Livy, and Orosius between ten and twenty each, with a few scattered references, probably not exceeding ten in the case of any one author, to Plato, Homer, Juvenal, Seneca, Ptolemy, Æsop, and St. Augustine. See *Classical Studies of Dante*, in *Edinburgh Rev.*, April, 1895.

¹ For the documents see the excellent book by Del Lungo, *Dell' Esilio di Dante*, Florence, 1881.

interesting are the *De Monarchia*¹ and the *Commedia*.² The *De Monarchia* is an elaborate exposition of the true theory of Church and State. It is divided into three books: Whether a temporal monarchy is essential for the well-being of the world? Whether the Roman people assumed to itself by right the dignity of empire? and Whether the authority of the monarch comes directly from God or from the vicar of God? Dante answers all these questions in the affirmative. The empire is the work of God as well as the Church, supreme in its own sphere, and Christ sanctioned it by being born in it and in suffering its sentence through Pontius Pilate. The assertion of the Decretalists, that the Church is above the empire, is not to be received. These traditions came after the Church, and could not confer on the Church any rights not previously possessed. "If the Church had power to bestow authority on the Roman prince she would have it either from God, or from herself, or from some emperor, or from the universal consent of mankind, or at least of the majority of mankind. There is no other crevice by which this power could flow down to the Church. But she has it not from any of these sources." Dante proceeds to prove this declaration at length, and adds, "therefore she has it not at all."³ After fully vindicating the independence of the empire from the Church in the largest sense the author concedes that the emperor is still under spiritual obedience to the pope as a son to a father. The truth of the fact that the authority of the monarch springs immediately from God, says Dante, "must not be received so narrowly as to deny that in certain matters the Roman prince is subject to the Roman pontiff. For that happiness which is subject to mortality in a sense is ordered with a view to the happiness which shall not taste of death. Let, therefore, Cæsar be reverent to Peter, as the firstborn son should be reverent to his father, that he may be illuminated with the light of his Father's grace, and so may be stronger to lighten the world over which he has been placed by him alone who is the Ruler of all things spiritual as well as temporal."⁴ This noble treatise is a landmark in history, for it founds a political theory on the basis of reason and historical fact. Some of its arguments are

¹ Best ed. by Witte, 1863, 1867.

² Best ed. by Scartazzini, 4 vols., Leipz., 1874, 1882, 1890. The best one-vol. ed., perhaps, is also by Scartazzini, Milan, 1894, rev. and enl., 1896. See *The Nation*, April 16, 1896, pp. 310, 311, and (for 4th vol. of larger ed.—*Prolegomena*), *Church Quar. Rev.*, Lond., July, 1891, 358, ff.

³ *De Mon.*, iii, 14 (transl. F. J. Church, Lond., 1879, pp. 118, 119).

⁴ *Ibid.*, iii, 16 (p. 128).

scholastic and obscure; its form is mediæval, but, as Creighton says, a modern spirit of political dignity breathes through its pages.¹ Dante's reward was to have his book condemned to the flames as containing heresies, and his bones came very near sharing the same fate.²

"The Divine Comedy lies before us," says Symonds, "let us uncover our heads, therefore, and cry in the great words of Ennius:

'Dantes poeta salve qui mortalibus
Versus propinas flammeos medullitus.'

This is the proper salutation for the man who fed his poem with the lifeblood and the marrow of his soul through years which made him gray and gaunt."³ In some respects this is the greatest work of human genius. In the Middle Ages it stands in its grim and sad loneliness, gathering into itself all the burning significance of an epoch. Its force, its originality, its obscurity, its fullness of contemporary reference, its boldness in transfixing men still living, its terrible ethical judgments anticipating the day of doom and giving men their awards with all possible impartiality, the magnificent sweep of its imagination, its strange mixture of history and allegory, its sometime quiet beauty and its awful descriptions, like an Alpine rhododendron blooming on a glacier—this great and mighty work stands out by itself among all the creations of time. It created the Italian language, and still abides in its unchallenged supremacy over all other products of that poetic tongue. Church says: "It is the first Christian poem, and it opens European literature, as the Iliad did that of Greece and Rome. Like the Iliad, it has never become out of date; it accompanies in undiminished freshness the literature which it began."⁴ Like *Paradise Lost*, it is a work which could not have been produced except on Christian ground, and out of a

THE DIVINE
COMEDY.

¹ Hist. of Papacy During the Reformation, i, 31.

² The Monarchia was written during the descent of Henry VII into Italy, 1310-13. It was first printed at Basel by John Oporinus in 1559. See Scartazzini, Dante Handbook, pp. 247-255.

³ Introduction to the Study of Dante, Lond., 1872, 3d ed., rev., 1893, p. 95. A work admirably done. The lines of Ennius are paraphrased by Symonds, and stand at the head of this chapter.

⁴ Dante, and Other Essays, Lond. and N. Y., 1891, p. 2. See also p. 139. This is one of the noblest and finest essays in the English language. It was first pub. in The Christian Remembrancer, in Jan., 1850, was pub. separately in 1878, and in 1888 repub. with essays on Wordsworth and Sordello. Among all the so-called Introductions to Dante none is better than this classic essay by Dean Church.

heart essentially pure, which loved righteousness and hated iniquity.¹ It is born also out of sorrows, and, like a great nation, emerges from battles and cataclysms into the light.²

There have been three interpretations of the theological leanings of the *Commedia*. Some think that Dante was the forerunner of rationalism, out of sympathy with the Church, in league with widespread anti-Catholic societies, a socialist and revolutionist.

Gabrielle Rossetti, an Italian social reformer, broached this view in 1826,³ and it has been ventilated in France, as we have seen,⁴ by Aroux, a Roman Catholic and a translator of the *Commedia*. So far as this view brings out the immense political importance of Dante's conceptions and his profound interest in political affairs there is much truth in it; but as an explanation of Dante's real relation to the Church it is a wild perversion of the facts. A second view has more apparent truth, but also does great injustice to the Florentine poet. This represents him as a Protestant of the thirteenth century who boldly grappled with the errors of the papacy and was the herald of the reform movements of the sixteenth century. Matthias Flacius, the first

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OLOGY.

¹ On account of the thoughtless slanders of some of the fierce enemies of Dante in that stormy age some modern scholars have constructed a theory of Dante's life entirely false and psychologically impossible. Davidson is a recent one of these in his notes to Scartazzini's *Dante Handbook*, pp. 225, ff., notes, although Scartazzini himself repudiates these gratuitous misinterpretations, pp. 222, ff. But Davidson destroys his own reasoning in saying of Carlyle that "he was of all modern men the most like to Dante," than which there could not be, in some qualities of mind and genius, a juster comparison.

² Not of personal participation in sins and vices, but in sorrows, disappointments, exiles, political and social conflicts. And so Carlyle says in words which Davidson has strangely misapplied: "The Divine Comedy is at bottom the sincerest of all poems; sincerity we here, too, find to be the measure of worth. It came out of the author's heart of hearts; and it goes deep, and through long generations, into ours. The people of Verona, when they saw him on the streets, used to say, 'Eccovi l'uom ch'è stato all'Infero'—See, there is the man that was in hell! Ah, yes, he had been in hell—in hell enough, in long, severe sorrow and struggle, as the like of him is pretty sure to have been. *Commedias* that come out divine are not accomplished otherwise. Thought, true labor of any kind, highest virtue itself, is it not the daughter of Pain? Born as out of a black whirlwind; true effort, in fact, as of a captive struggling to free himself; that is Thought. In all ways we are 'to become perfect through suffering.'"³ Heroes and Hero-Worship, Lecture iii (Works, E. & L. ed., Bost., 1885, vol. i, pp. 319, 320).

³ *Commento Analitico to the Comedy*. He defended his theory in *Sullo Spirito antipapale che produsse la Riforma e sulla Influenza che esercitò nella Letteratura di tutta l'Europa, e principalmente d'Italia*, 1830. On Rossetti's Dante studies, see Karl Witte, *Rossetti's Dante-Erklärung*, in *Dante-Forschungen*, i, 96-133.

⁴ Above, p. 827.

Lutheran Church historian, places him among the noble Four Hundred and Twenty Witnesses of Evangelical Truth in the Dark Ages, and quotes some passages from the *Commedia* and the *Monarchia* which he thinks bear out his view.

This use of the *Commedia* as a controversial weapon for Protestantism is one of the striking features of Church history. It was by this means that a French nobleman, François Perot de Mézieres, endeavored to win the Italians to the Reformation, and the great Huguenot diplomat and theologian, Philippe de Mornay du Plessy Marly, brought Dante to the front as a witness against popery.¹ In our own century Goeschel and Karl Graul have defended the same thesis. Some have interpreted the Greyhound (*Veltro*), whom Dante prophesied as a future reformer, as an anagram for the name of Luther (*Lutero*), although it is likely that by this he meant his friend and patron, Can Grande della Scala of Verona, the head of the Ghibelline party in Lombardy, and vicar of the German emperor, Henry VII.² It is true that no bolder voice was ever raised against papal corruptions than Dante's, and as an ethical reformer and protester against the abuse of authority on the part of the pope his words have a true Protestant ring. He meets the popes in hell, and lets them accuse themselves out of their own mouths. Nicholas III testifies of the guilt of simony, and says there were around him numerous "predecessors" in the same corruption. The great Pope Boniface VIII is overwhelmed with Dante's heavy indignation, because he used the papacy as a means of political tyranny, and thus brought himself under the poet's especial wrath. He calls him "wolf," "chief of the New Pharisees," "he who sits and swerves," and in a noble passage he strikes his and all baseness in high places. Let us read this in the fine prose-poem translation of Carlyle :

"Ah! Now tell me how much treasure our Lord required of St. Peter before he put the keys into his keeping? Surely he demanded naught but 'Follow Me!' Nor did Peter, nor the others, ask of Matthias gold or silver when he was chosen for the office which the guilty soul had lost. Therefore stay thou here, for thou art justly punished; and keep well the ill-got money, which against Charles made thee be bold. And were it not that reverence for the great keys thou heldest in the glad life yet hinders me, I should use still heavier words; for your avarice grieves the world, trampling on the good and raising up the wicked. Shepherds such as ye the evangelist perceived when she that sitteth

¹ See his *Mystery of Iniquity*, pub. in 1611.

² Schaff, *Dante's Theology*, in *Papers of Amer. Soc. of Ch. Hist.*, ii, 54.

on the waters was seen by him committing fornication with the kings; she that was born with seven heads, and in her ten horns had a witness so long as virtue pleased her spouse. Ye made a god of gold and silver; and wherein did ye differ from the idolater, save that he worships one, and ye a hundred?"¹

This magnificent denunciation is paralleled by another shaft of glorious anger in which Peter himself flames out against the guilty pope and the whole heavens redden with shame at the memory of his crimes. Standing in the ninth sphere of paradise, above the fixed stars, St. Peter, flaming with a sudden redness, cries:

"He who usurps on earth below my place—
My place, my place, the which is void and empty
Before the presence of the Son of God—
Hath made my sepulcher a sink
Of blood and stench; whence comes it that the rebel
Who fell from hence is glad in hell and triumphs?
Even such color as the smiting sun
Doth paint on clouds of evening or of noon,
I then beheld the whole of heaven o'erspread;
And as a pure-souled lady who remains
Whole in her virtue, for another's fault,
Only to hear of it, is ta'en with fear;
So Beatrice changed semblance where she stood.
Eclipse like this, methinks, was once in heaven
When the supreme Power suffered."²

It must be confessed that Dante handles ecclesiastics and monks without gloves. On the door of a sepulchral monument in hell he notices the inscription:

"I have in charge
Pope Anastasius, whom Photinus drew
From the right path."³

And near him lay the Lord Cardinal Ubaldini, who said, "If there is such a thing as a human soul, I have lost mine." The special favorites of the pope, the friars, are in dolorous grief in hell:

"There in the depths we saw a painted tribe,
Who paced with tardy steps around, and wept,
Faint in appearance, and o'ercome with toil.
Caps they had on, with hood that fell low down
Before their eyes, in fashion like to those

¹ *Inf.*, xix, 90-114; transl. by J. A. Carlyle, M.D., Lond., 1849. This is one of the best translations of Dante, and it is matter of regret that the author did not receive encouragement enough to proceed with the other parts of the poem.

² *Paradiso*, xxvii, 23-36; trans. by J. A. Symonds, in *Introd. to Study of Dante*, pp. 146-148.

³ *Inf.*, xi, 8, 9.

Worn by the monks in Cologne. Their outside
Was overlaid with gold, dazzling to view,
But leaden all within, and of such weight
That Frederick's, compared to these, were straw.
O everlasting wearisome attire !"¹

When he asked his guide concerning a large group of shaven heads he answered :

"To the Church
Were separate those, that with no hairy cowls
Are crownèd popes and cardinals, o'er whom
Avarice dominion absolute maintains."

He bewails the temporal power in the hands of the papacy, as in his oft-quoted line on "Constantine's Donation,"² and in these plain terms :

"The Church of Rome,
Mixing two governments that ill assort,
Hath missed her footing, fallen into the mire,
And there herself and burden much defiled."

And he bursts out in bitter grief over Italy's fate under such leadership :

"Ah, slavish Italy ! Thou inn of grief !
Vessel without pilot in a loud storm !
Lady no longer of fair provinces,
But brothel house impure.
Ah, people ! Thou obedient still shouldst live,
If well thou markedst that which God commands !"³

But it was only in the matter of the worldly dominion of the pope that Dante departed from mediæval Catholicism. In most other respects he was a loving child of the Church. There are no

¹ *Inf.*, xxiii, 58-67.

² "Ah, Constantine ! of how much ill was mother,
Not thy conversion, but that marriage-dower

Which the first rich Father took from thee !" — *Inf.*, xix, 115-117.

Longfellow quotes from Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, Prologus :

"The patrimonie and the richesse
Which to Silvester, in pure almesse,
The firste Constantinus lefte."

In the *De Monarchia*, iii, x, Dante argues, assuming, of course, the genuineness of the supposed "Donation," that if the cession of land to the Church impaired in any way the unity and strength of the empire, such gift was null and void. Besides, it is impossible for the Church to receive temporal power. But things that did not impair "his supreme lordship" the emperor could bestow and the Church could receive, but she could receive them only as a steward to dispense the fruits of them to the poor of Christ. Milton quotes the lines of Dante above in *Of Reformation in England*, and also has no doubt about the genuineness of the Donation. Laurentius Valla had already exploded the fiction in 1440.

³ *Purg.*, vi, 76-78, 93.

distinctive Protestant principles in his writings, such as the Bible as the only rule of faith, justification by faith, private judgment, and the priesthood of the laity. Against these and other essential Protestant principles he stands on the Roman Catholic side.

That view, therefore, of Dante's theology which looks upon him as the devout Roman Catholic poet of the Middle Ages, standing fast within the pale of the current dogma, but within those lines representing rare freedom of judgment and breadth of view and in some points anticipating the latter day, is the correct one. This is the opinion of most Dante scholars, both Roman Catholic and Protestant—Giuliani, Ozanam, Artaud, de Montor, Boissard, Philalethes, Wegele, Gietmann, Hettinger, Scartazzini. As Schaff well says: "Dante is the poet of mediæval Catholicism. His poetry reflects the theology of St. Thomas Aquinas and St. Bernard—that is, orthodox scholasticism and orthodox mysticism combined. The *Commedia* is a poetic transfiguration of mediæval theology and piety. He worked into it all the subtleties of scholastic speculation and all the warmth of mystic devotion to the very height of the beatific vision. He is a strong believer in the fundamental doctrines of the Trinity and incarnation, and in all the articles of the ecumenical faith from creation to life everlasting. He clothes these truths in the shining garb of poetic beauty, and impresses them all the more deeply on the mind. To a devout student the *Divina Commedia* is a powerful sermon accompanied by solemn organ music. Neither Milton, nor Klopstock, nor any other poet, Roman Catholic or Protestant, can equal him in the poetic vindication and glorification of our common Christian faith."¹ Dante holds strongly to the doctrines of purgatory, worship of saints, the divinity of the papacy,² and other special Roman tenets. The unbaptized are excluded from heaven, Peter is exalted as the founder of the Roman Church, and heretics are sent to the sixth circle of hell.

¹ Dante's Theology, in *Proc. Amer. Soc. of Ch. Hist.*, ii, 55-56. See some excellent remarks by Church, pp. 127-130.

² With all his scorn of Boniface he cannot bear to see him maltreated, as when he was captured by Nogaret and the Colonnas. It is an indignity to Christ himself.

"I see the flower-de-luce Alagna enter,
And Christ in his own vicar captive made.
I see him yet another time derided;
I see renewed the vinegar and gall,
And between living thieves I see him slain."

—*Purg.*, xx, 86-90 (Longfellow's transl.).

A supreme religious intent pervades the *Commedia*. It was indeed a glorious offering to the Church for the salvation of men. It is an overwhelming sermon. The author sought to draw men's minds from the engrossing occupations of earth, from its sins and crimes, to make them see for themselves the retributions of eternity, to show them the beauty of Christian love and the rewards which God gives to faithful merit, and to foreshadow a regenerated commonwealth and a transfigured Church. In the admirable words of Scartazzini, the *Commedia* is the "great epopœa of the civil and political regeneration of the nations and of the redemption of sinful man."¹ It is the grandest legacy of the Middle Ages. Although he was an exile from his own state, Dante has redeemed his epoch for later generations, and treasured up all its best in ethics and theology and learning and civil polity for the use of mankind in all the following ages. Reader, open the book for thyself, and follow the intrepid poet on his matchless way through all the spheres.

¹ Dante Handbook, p. 280. On the practical intent of the Comedy, see Church, Dante, pp. 126, 127.

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CHAPTER LIII.

THE JEWS.

THE Fathers of the ancient Church breathe a tolerant spirit toward the Jews. They taught that the crime of the crucifixion of Christ, for which the elders and a part of the population of Jerusalem were guilty, was not one which should burden the Jewish race forever, but that Christ's prayer for forgiveness restored them in a sense to the favor of God; that Peter, like his Master, excused their sin by their ignorance; that Israel remains the chosen people, because God does not recall his election; and that when the fullness of the Gentiles shall arrive, the then believing Israel shall also come in to form one united community. Origen, whom Döllinger calls the "best informed and most intellectual of the earlier Fathers," has this hopeful word for the Jews: "They are, and ever will remain, our brethren, and will in due time be united to us, whenever we, through our faith and life, shall have roused them to emulation to us." Even Augustine spoke in a similar strain. But that early promise was not kept by the riper Church; for, after the nominal conversion of Europe, the Jews began to feel the iron of Christian persecution, and entered upon the long and bitter era which forms one of the darkest stains upon the escutcheon of Christian history.

Ambrose pronounced the burning of a Jewish synagogue in Rome a deed well pleasing to God, and charged the emperor Maximus with being a Jew because he commanded the synagogue to be rebuilt. Theodosius II, in 439, excluded the Jews from all offices, even municipal, and this code was adopted by Justinian, and thus became a law for the Eastern as well as the Western empire. However, the governing power protected them more or less, and it was not until the close of the eleventh century that the darkest page in the history begins. This era of religious wars naturally brought the Jews within the scope of the crusading fanaticism, which the first crusaders well illustrated by their wholesale murders and robberies, and which the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem exemplified by celebrating its inauguration by burning the Jewish inhabitants, together with their synagogues. Stephen VI (885-891) departed from the spirit of his supposed predecessor, St. Peter, in his letter to the Archbishop of Narbonne. He was scandalized by the report that the Jews, those enemies of God, were possessed, by the grant of the king, of

freehold estates (*allodium*), and that Christians had social and commercial intercourse with those dogs from whom God himself, in punishment for the death of Christ, had withdrawn all his favors and promises.

The direct contradiction of this to the teachings of Christ and the apostles did not seem to trouble his holiness. In spite of occasional prohibitions on the part of popes against baptizing the Jews by force, robbing and murdering them, these crimes went forward, very often with the papal consent. Kings and nobles oppressed and spoiled them to their hearts' content, without any objection from the popes. In fact, when Philip Augustus carried out his cruel measures against the Jews, Celestine III praised him as acting out of godly zeal.¹ As Dollinger well says: "The declaration of Innocent III that the entire nation was destined by God on account of its sins to perpetual slavery was the Magna Charta continually appealed to by those who coveted the possessions of the Jews and the earnings of their industry; both princes and people acted upon it. The impression which it made was not mitigated by the circumstances that the popes grounded their occasional letters of protection solely on the prophecy that a remnant would remain who would be converted in the latter days. Such a fragment of Judaism would certainly, it was supposed, never fail to be found, if not in Europe, yet at any rate in Asia. The succeeding popes took their stand upon the maxims and behests of Innocent III. If the Jews built themselves a synagogue it was to be pulled down; they might only repair the old ones. No Jew might appear as a witness against a Christian. The bishops were charged to enforce the wearing of the distinctive badge—the hat or the yellow garment—by all the means in their power. The wearing of the badge was particularly cruel and oppressive, for in the frequent tumults and risings in the towns the Jews, being thus recognizable at a glance, fell all the more easily into the hands of the excited mob; and if a Jew undertook a journey he inevitably became a prey to the numerous bandits and adventurers, who naturally considered him as an outlaw. In Spain the Jews had consequently gained permission to dress as they pleased upon a journey, but the permission was very soon withdrawn."²

Both popes and councils, to say nothing of kings, made it almost impossible for the Jews to carry on their wretched existence. A Christian was forbidden to let or sell a house to a Jew or to buy wine

¹ *Revue des études Juives*, i, 118 (Paris, 1880).

² *The Jews in Europe*, in *Studies in European Hist.*, Lond., 1890, p. 219. Amedor de los Rios, *Hist. de los Judios de España*, iii, 412 (Dollinger).

from him. All copies of the Talmud and commentaries upon it, the greatest part of Jewish literature, were ordered to be burned, and in 1244 twenty-four cartful of the Talmud were publicly burned in Paris. The Jews were treated as serfs, and in 1223 Louis VII of France remitted to his subjects all their debts to the Jews. Thomas Aquinas laid down the doctrine that, inasmuch as the Jews were condemned by God to perpetual bondage, PERSECUTION BY RULERS. princes could dispose of their property as though it were their own.¹ Is it any wonder that unscrupulous princes in a rapacious age should eagerly avail themselves of such an abominable teaching by claiming both the property and persons of the Jews? Conrad IV called them "bond servants of our treasury," and said that the emperor Titus had made a present of them to the imperial treasury, and certain poor Jews themselves once addressed a letter to the council of Ratisbon, urging their relation to the emperor as slaves in order that he might prevent total extermination by the Christians and preserve them in remembrance of the passion of Christ. "You yourselves," said the emperor, Charles IV, to the Jews, "your bodies and your possessions, belong to us and to the empire. We may act, make, and do with you what we will and please."² In return for this the emperor guaranteed them certain privileges, and at the expiration of the time for which these privileges were granted a renewal of the right to live could only be bought at an exorbitant price.

The council of Vienna in 1267 decreed that no Jew could be tolerated in a bath house, tavern, or inn, and that no Christian could buy meat of a Jew, since the Jew might poison him. The synod of Salamanca (1335) warned the people against Jewish physicians, who offered their services with the crafty design of exterminating the Christians. It was a widespread mediæval fable that the Jews needed Christian blood either for their paschal feast or for other reasons, and that to secure it they murdered a boy every year. Many believed that a Christian was yearly crucified in mockery of the Redeemer. Under this awful load of prejudice, bigotry, selfishness, misrepresentation, and dark imaginings, is it any wonder that the mediæval period was the age of the Reign of Terror to the Jews?

The whole history of the persecution of the Jews is a terrible indictment of the Roman Catholic Church and of mediæval civilization, those "Ages of Faith" to which the longing of many devout souls, perplexed by the doubts of modern times, goes back. "For nearly a thousand years," says Döllinger,

DÖLLINGER'S
TESTIMONY.

¹ De regimine Judæorum ad Ducissam Brabantia, in Opp., xvi, 192.

² Hegel, Chroniken der deutschen Städte, i, 26.

“the outward history of the Jews is a concatenation of refined oppression, of degrading and demoralizing tortures, of coercion and persecution, of wholesale massacre, and of alternate banishment and recall. European nations seem to have emulated one another in seeking to verify the delusion that to the end of time the Jews were destined by the counsels of Heaven to endure the fate of Helots, and that the sons of the Gentiles were called upon to act the part of jailers and executioners toward God’s chosen people. They were felt to be indispensable, they were found useful in many ways, and yet none would tolerate them. The very sight of them was an irritation to the sight of an assured believer, to whom the persistence of a Jew in the creed of his fathers against the light of the Gospel seemed to proceed from malicious obstinacy.”¹

It is pleasant to notice some bright aspects to this dark history. It seems that in the papal province of Avignon the Jews had not only no annoyance from their Christian neighbors, but that the papal legislature was most liberal toward them, allowing them absolute liberty of worship and the management of schools, while the Jews returned this respect for their rights by a loyal devotion to the papal government.² Even here, however, they had to wear a distinctive dress. Under the Moorish government in Spain, also, the condition of the Jews was tolerable. Their synagogues elected their own judges to represent them before the authorities, their schools flourished, and in the practice of medicine they obtained renown. Under the Christian kings of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries they rose to influence as financial advisers, treasurers, astronomers, and physicians.

But in the fourteenth century this hardly bought toleration was swept away, and darkness came again. The Jews were attacked, mur-

PERSECUTION
IN FOURTEENTH
CENTURY.

dered, their synagogues burned, the alternative, “baptism or exile,” was placed before them, thousands accepting one and thousands the other, and finally an edict was issued banishing all the Jews from Spain. Of the exiles, variously reckoned from one hundred and seventy thousand to four hundred thousand, the greater part perished from pestilence, starvation, or shipwreck. In this glorious Spain, where, Ranke says, the doctrine of justice was so assiduously studied, the right to strip the outcast Jews of their possessions was proved out of the teaching of Innocent III, who echoed the divine voice to the effect that the Jews were in a state of slavery; out of the decretals of Alexander

¹ The Jews in Europe, p. 238.

² This is shown by M. de Maulde in *Revue des Études Juives*, No. 14, Jan., 1884.

III forbidding converted Jews to be despoiled, whence it followed that the unconverted might be plundered; and by the decretals of Clement III forbidding the confiscation of their property except by the permission of the governing powers, which permission, gladly given, rendered the act legal.¹

A charge by which it was sought to justify the hatred of the Christians toward the Jews was that they were usurers, loaning money on interest. The charge was true, and yet the inference drawn from it was false. On a misinterpretation of Luke vi, 35,² popes and cardinals had, since the eighth century, with increasing vehemence condemned anyone who should lend capital at interest, though in the early Church only ecclesiastics were forbidden by ecclesiastical penalties to receive interest. The Fathers, however, united in bitterly denouncing anyone, layman or clergyman, guilty of a practice strictly forbidden, as they said, by both Moses and Christ, and against the Christian law of love.³ Alexander III, 1179, declared that the prohibition of interest could never be suspended by dispensation, and at the council of Vienna, in 1311, Clement V said that to assert that the taking of interest was not sinful was heresy. "In this way," says Dollinger, "the Church had placed herself in opposition to natural laws, to the exigencies of civil life, and to the general intercourse of mankind. But it was one thing to prohibit, it was quite another to insist that her subjects should advance their money without interest. With the general deficiency of ready money at a time when no remedy existed for the steady decrease in the supply of gold and silver, everyone, from the highest to the lowest, was frequently in the predicament of being required to borrow money, and since money-dealing was strictly forbidden to Christians, and could only be carried on by them under cover of many formalities and in roundabout ways, the Jews, who were debarred from all other lines of industry and situations in life, here stepped in."⁴

This greatly enraged the Church, and Innocent III decreed that the Jews should return the interest they had received, and that, if they refused, they should be boycotted by the Christians, that is,

¹ Paramo, *de Origin. off. s. Inquisitionis*, 164; Dollinger, *l. c.*, p. 232, note.

² Notice the Revised Version, "Lend; never despairing," with the margin, "some ancient authorities read, despairing of no man."

³ See Mullinger, *Usury*, in Smith and Cheetham. Ruskin stands with the early Church as to this.

⁴ Jews in Europe, p. 225. The Jews were not allowed to own land, the guilds and labor societies kept them out of trade, and thus they were shut in to mercantile life, in which the law of necessity working through many centuries has made them the experts of the world.

be given over to starvation. But how could the Christians themselves be saved from guilt? If it was wrong to receive interest it was equally wrong to give it; and yet popes, cardinals, and bishops were compelled to borrow money, and the whole organization of the curia was so constituted that it was absolutely necessary to have recourse to the Jews. Here the casuists came in to give relief to the conscience; they said that the Jews were lost anyway, and therefore it makes no difference what additions are made to their sins; and the Christians who borrow are excused on the plea of necessity. But these prohibitions availed nothing. The Christians themselves loaned money on interest and often on worse terms than the Jews. The Cahorsines, the Lombards, and the Italian bankers carried on financial operations throughout Europe; nor did they shine in their unselfishness by the side of the oppressed Jews. In 1352 Ludwig, the Brandenburger, son of the emperor Ludwig, publicly invited the Jews to settle in the country, free of taxation, because, "since the time of the destruction of the Jews," that is, since the massacre of 1348, "there prevails a scarcity of money amongst the rich and poor throughout the land."¹

On matters of general morality, excepting, of course, the conventional charges of avarice and usury, the Jews of the Middle Ages were patterns to the Christian. Among all the fierce denunciations of mediæval Christian literature no impeachment of their morals appears. They were temperate, pure in their domestic and social relations, and kept their faith in contracts. They never tried to proselyte. In fact, the Talmud discouraged this when it said that proselytes were as injurious to Judaism as ulcers to a healthy body. The history of the Jew in the Middle Ages entirely justifies the assertion of Döllinger, that "thirteen centuries cry to us with a thousand tongues, 'The Christian has made the Jew what he is.'"² It also justifies the sad remark of a rabbi to a Christian when the Jews of Spain were to be uprooted and expelled: "We are a blessed and an accursed race at the same time. You Christians now seek to exterminate us, but you will not succeed, for we are blessed; the time will come when you will endeavor to raise us up, but neither in that will you succeed, for we are accursed."³

¹ Döllinger, *Jews in Europe*, pp. 228, 229.

² *Ibid.*, p. 239; H. Thiersch, *Ueber den christlichen Staat*, Berl., 1875, p. 69. In his article on the "Judenhass in History," in *Studies in Eccl. History*, Lond., 1884, pp. 228, ff., Oxenham (R. C.) tells of the atrocities of his Church with the coldness of a medical lecturer, and has no word of compassion for the victims. How different from the Old Catholic scholar of Munich!

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CHAPTER LIV.

HYMNOLOGY.

ST. HILARY OF POITIERS, who died in 366, the champion of Nicæa, and one of the noblest of the Fathers, was the father of Latin hymnology. In 356 the Arians banished him to Phrygia, where he entered enthusiastically into the study of the Greek language and literature, became acquainted with both the theology and sacred poetry of the Greek Church, and thus was fitted for his later splendid service to the Latins. Isidore of Seville, who died in 636, speaks of him as the first Latin hymn writer, and yet unfortunately we have little that can with safety be ascribed to him. Much ancient tradition attributed to him the

Hymnum dicat turba fratrum, hymnum cantus personet
(Band of brethren, raise the hymn, let your song the hymn resound),

which is a brief narrative of the whole Gospel history, and perhaps the earliest example of a strictly didactic hymn. Some think the only hymn indisputably his is that beautiful Morning Hymn,

<i>Lucis largitor splendide</i>	Thou splendid Giver of the light,
<i>Cujus sereno lumine</i>	By whose serene and lovely ray
<i>Post lapsa noctis tempora</i>	Beyond the gloomy shades of night
<i>Dies refusus panditur.</i>	Is opened wide another day. ¹

Seven other hymns are attributed to him, and very likely with justice.

St. Ambrose of Milan, who died in 397, was another founder. We have some interesting contemporary accounts from St. Augustine concerning his relation to Church music. When the Arians were determined to remove Ambrose from his church many devout people, including women, of whom Augustine's mother was one, came together in the church, to protect him and keep him from being taken into exile. "Then," says Augustine, "it was first appointed that, after the manner of the Eastern Churches, hymns and psalms should be sung, lest the people should grow weary and faint through sorrow; which custom has ever since been retained, and has been followed by almost all congregations in other parts of the world." He describes the remarkable effect of these hymns

¹ Given in full in Duffield, *Latin Hymns*, p. 32.

upon his own mind : " I was moved to tears by the sweetness of these hymns and canticles." " The voices flowed into my ears ; the truth distilled into my heart ; I overflowed with devout affections and was happy." When his mother died nothing could comfort him except one of the Ambrosian hymns. " Then I slept, and woke up again and found my grief not a little softened ; and as I was alone in my bed I remembered those true verses of thy Ambrose, ' For thou art the

Maker of all, the Lord
And Ruler of the height,
Who, robing day in light, hast poured
Soft slumbers o'er the night,
That to our limbs the power
Of toil may be renewed,
And hearts be raised that sink and cower,
And sorrows be subdued.' "

There are probably a hundred hymns which Ambrose wrote for congregational use, and Lord Selborne calls attention to the fact that they are admirably adapted for this purpose, being, as he says, short and complete in themselves, easy and at the same time elevated in their expression and rhythm, terse and masculine in thought and language ; and, though sometimes criticised as deficient in theological precision, simple, pure, and not technical of their rendering of the great facts and doctrines of Christianity, which they present in an objective manner.' Neale and Trench, who made profound studies in Latin hymnology, think that the Ambrosian hymns are not sufficiently warm and ecstatic, " there is a certain coldness in them, an aloofness of the author from his subject." Simcox, on the other hand, with more justice says that " they all have the character of deep spontaneous feeling flowing in a clear rhythmical current, and show a more genuine feeling than the prose works."

Prudentius, who died about 415, was a Spanish layman and governor, who after a gay life was converted to Christianity, and became one of the most original and fertile of the elder Christian poets of the West. He was a voluminous poet, and the Mozarabic, or ancient Spanish, ritual embodies several of his long pieces to be sung or recited. He was one of the most popular singers of the Middle Ages, and it is a remarkable fact concerning his poems that no work but the Bible appears with so many glosses in High German.' He has been called the " Latin Dr. Watts." It is interesting to note how

¹ Art. Hymns, in Enc. Brit., 9th ed., xii, 616.

² Latin Literature, ii, 405 ; Duffield, 54, 55.

³ Milman, Lat. Christianity, viii, 309, note.

the famous printers loved to spend their skill on Prudentius, an Elzevir with introductions by Heinsius appearing in Amsterdam in 1667, an Aldine at Venice in 1501, and later costly editions, as by Teoli at Parma in 1788, and by Arevalus, who has the bad reputation, which many moderns share with him, of being a hymn-tinker.¹

Perhaps the most celebrated hymn of the early Middle Ages is the *Veni, Creator Spiritus*, which was constantly sung throughout Western Christendom as part of the appointed office for the coronation of kings, the consecration of bishops, the assembling of synods, and other great ecclesiastical solemnities, and has been retained in the ordination services of the Anglican and Methodist Churches.² Unfortunately the author is not known. The most ancient testimony, and one which has every internal evidence of probability, is that of Ekkehard, in his life of Notker, written in the beginning of the twelfth century. He lived in the monastery of St. Gall, and had access to all its records, and his work therefore is likely to be reliable. He says that Notker, monk of St. Gall, who died 912, wrote his sequence on the Holy Spirit,

Sancti Spiritus adsit nobis gratia
(Present with us ever be the Holy Spirit's grace),

and sent it as a present to Charles,³ who sent him back by the same messenger the hymn, *Veni, Creator Spiritus*, which the "same Spirit had inspired him to write." Others attribute the hymn to Rabanus Maurus, Archbishop of Mainz from 847 to 856, on the strength of the fact that it is found among his writings, and that it is a paraphrase of his chapter on the Holy Spirit.⁴ We give

¹ Wesley adjured compilers to leave his hymns as they found them, and yet he often altered the verses of others to great advantage. See some caustic remarks by Robinson, in *Cent. Mag.*, Apr., 1886, p. 858. Later eds. of Prudentius are by Migne, vols. lix and lx, and Dressel, Leipz., 1860. See the monograph by Brockhaus, Leipz., 1872. A transl. of selection of his works by T. D. appeared in *Blackwood's Mag.*, ix (1821), and in a vol. by Thackeray, with introduction and notes, Lond., 1891.

² But in a form much abbreviated, the poor version of Bishop Cosin, 1677.

³ Charles the Bald. Some ignorant copyist later interpolated the title "Great" after "Charles" in this history, and therefore many have assigned the *Veni, Creator Spiritus*, to Charles the Great. But his authorship is out of the question.

⁴ So the Jesuit antiquarian, Brower, in the appendix to his edition of *Fortunatus*, Cologne, 1617, where he prints the poems of Rabanus; Duffield, *Latin Hymns*, pp. 118, ff.; Clement, *Carmina e poetis Christianis excerpta*, Paris, 1854, p. 379.

here the original of this grand poem, with one of the best and most literal translations, that of the late Samuel W. Duffield :

Veni, Creator Spiritus,
Mentes tuorum visita,
Imple superna gratia
Quæ tu creasti pectora.
Qui Paraclitus diceris,
Deique donum altissimi,
Fons vivus; ignis, caritas,
Et spiritalis unctio.
Tu septiformis munere,
Dextræ Dei tu digitus,
Tu rite promisso Patria
Sermone ditans guttura.
Accende, lumen sensibus,
Infunde amorem cordibus,
Infirma nostri corporis
Virtute firmans perpeti.
Hostem repellas longius,
Pacemque dones protinus,
Ductore sic te prævio
Vitemus omne noxium.
Per te sciamus, da, Patrem,
Noscamus atque Filium,
Te utriusque Spiritum,
Credamus omni tempore.

O Holy Ghost, Creator, come !
Thy people's mind pervade ;
And fill with thy supernal graces
The souls which thou hast made.
Thou who art called the Paraclete,
The gift of God most high ;
Thou living fount, and fire, and love,
Our spirits' pure ally.
Thou sevenfold Giver of all good ;
Finger of God's right hand ;
Thou promise of the Father, rich
In words for every land ;
Kindle our senses to a flame,
And fill our hearts with love,
And thro' our bodies' weakness still
Pour valor from above !
Drive farther off our enemy,
And straightway give us peace ;
That with thyself as such a guide
We may from evil cease.
Thro' thee may we the Father know,
And thus confess the Son ;
For thee (from both the Holy Ghost)
We praise while time shall run.

Notker's Sequences have played a large part in Christian hymnology, and are still a portion of the service of the Church. They are rhythmical proses, and are so called because they were sung *after* (*sequor*, I follow) the epistle and before the gospel in the Church service. Notker was a monk of St. Gall, in Switzerland, and died about 912. His famous sequence, *Sancti Spiritus adsit nobis gratia*,¹ was much used in the Middle Ages. The rhythm was suggested to him by the turning of the mill-wheel. "I well remember a mill," says Duffield, "by which I used often to pause in the stillness of the night, listening to the wailing protracted cadences of the huge wheel which slowly turned in its bed as the buckets successively filled from the shut, but leaky, gates. Hearing this, and comparing it with 'sequence' of the Catholic service, or with the long-drawn tones of a German choral, it is impossible not to be struck by the resemblance."² More

¹ This hymn has been often translated. Schaff, *Ch. Hist.*, iv. 422, note 5, mentions fourteen English versions, and Odenheimer and Bird, *Songs of the Spirit*, N. Y., 1871, pp. 167-180, print nine of these translations.

² See Neale, *Mediæval Hymns and Sequences*, Lond., 1862, 3d ed. 1867, p. 32.

³ *Latin Hymns*, p. 167.

familiar to us are the solemn sentences which in modern times have been prefixed to the burial service of the Anglican and Methodist Churches, but which were originally suggested to Notker as he saw some workmen swinging down over a precipice in making a bridge over the chasm in the Martinstobe.

Media vita in morte sumus :	In the midst of life in death we be :
Quem querimus adiutorum nisi	Of whom can we seek for succor but
te, Domine,	of thee, O Lord,
Qui pro peccatis nostris juste	Who for our sins art justly moved ?
irascaris ?	
Sancte Deus, sancte fortis,	O holy God, O holy and mighty,
Sancte et misericors Salvator ;	O holy and merciful Saviour,
Amaræ morti ne tradas nos.	Deliver us not into the bitter death.

Luther translated this for a funeral hymn, and it is said to have been sung by troops on going into battle.¹

In the "Golden Sequence" the *Veni, sancte Spiritus*, is a kind of hymn which has gone into the metrical form. This exquisite hymn, called by Trench the "loveliest of all the hymns in the whole circle of Latin sacred poetry," is ascribed by tradition to the pious king Robert II (d. 1031), son of Hugh Capet ; but what weight attaches to the tradition cannot be known. Robert was deeply religious, and he loved music and poetry, but Duffield, who, as he says, "investigated every bypath and blind alley" of history in reference to this hymn and its possible authors, ascribes it to Hermann Contractus of St. Gall, the learned cripple, who in the middle of the eleventh century was writing hymns and histories in his Swiss retreat and experimenting with mathematical instruments.²

The greatest hymn of the Middle Ages, if not the greatest in all time, is the *Dies Iræ*, commonly ascribed to Thomas of Celano

¹ Notice the rhythm of our translation above. The version in the Methodist Ritual is taken from the First Prayer Book of Edward VI, 1549 (see ed. of Morgan Dix, N. Y., 1881, p. 268), except that in that book the third line reads: 'O Lord, which for our sins justly art moved.' In subsequent revisions the line as we are familiar with it was substituted.

² For a list of translators, see Schaff, *Church Hist.*, iv, 428, 429, note, who quotes there the versions of MacGill and Washburn. The Hymnal of the Methodist Episcopal Church, N. Y., 1878, gives the version of Ray Palmer, 1858. All versions are dilutions ; they miss the quivering, concise, bell-toned words of the original, which has 93 words, while MacGill's version—one of the most literal and one of the best—has 170. On Hermann, Duffield, pp. 147, ff., has a specially rich chapter. He also gives an exact and literal translation of the hymn, p. 163. The first to attribute the *Veni, sancte Spiritus*, to Robert is Durandus (d. 1296), in the fourth book of his *Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*, Mayence, 1453, the third book ever printed. There is a fine copy of Durandus's book on vellum in the Astor Library.

(fl. 1230),¹ companion and biographer of St. Francis of Assisi. It rests on the "Apparebit repentina," of the seventh century, first mentioned by Bede, which, though it lacks the intense force and poetic perfection of the *Dies Iræ*, is echoed and re-echoed in the greater hymn. We give the first lines of the *Apparebit repentina*, according to the version of Neale, that the student may compare it with the *Dies Iræ*.

That great Day of wrath and terror,
That last Day of woe and doom,
Like a thief that comes at midnight,
On the sons of men shall come;
When the pride and pomp of ages
All shall utterly have passed,
And they stand in anguish, owning
That the end is here at last;
And the trumpet's pealing clangor,
Thro' the earth's four quarters spread,
Waxing loud and ever louder,
Shall convoke the quick and dead,
And the King of heavenly glory
Shall assume his throne on high,
And the cohorts of his angels
Shall be near him in the sky;
And the sun shall turn to sackcloth,
And the moon be red as blood,
And the stars shall fall from heaven,
Whelm'd beneath destruction's flood.
Flame and fire and desolation
At the Judge's feet shall go:
Earth and sea and all abyesses
Shall his mighty sentence know.²

This hymn is a paraphrase of Matt. xxv, 31-36. The *Dies Iræ* is based on this Scripture, and also Zeph. i, 15 (Vulgate), Psalm xvi, 13, xvii, 3, cii, 26, and other passages. Of this terrible lyric, every line of which strikes the soul as might the bells of eternity summoning men to the last judgment, Schaff well says: "The secret of the irresistible power of the *Dies Iræ* lies in the awful grandeur of the theme, the intense earnestness and pathos of the poet, the simple majesty and solemn music of its language, the stately meter, the triple rhyme, and the vowel assonances chosen in striking adaptation to the sense, all combining to produce an

¹ Bartholomew Albizzi of Pisa is the first who mentions Thomas as the author, in *Liber Conformitatum*, 1385.

² Besides this trans. by Neale in his *Mediæval Hymns and Sequences*, this hymn has also been trans. by Mrs. Charles and F. C. Benedict. The original is in Daniel, *Thesaurus Hymnologicus*, 5 vol., Leipz., 1841-56, vol. i, p. 194.

overwhelming effect, as if we heard the final crash of the universe, the commotion of the opening graves, the trumpet of the archangel that summons the quick and the dead, and as if we saw the 'King of tremendous majesty' seated on the throne of justice and mercy, and ready to dispense everlasting life and everlasting woe."¹ This regal hymn has impressed itself on the world as has no other utterance of the same kind by uninspired man. Sir Walter Scott introduces it into the Lay of the Last Minstrel,

Dies iræ, dies illa
Solvat sæclum in favilla,

And far the echoing aisles prolong
The awful burthen of the song,

and gives in the last canto² a free paraphrase. On his deathbed, in the wanderings of his unconscious utterances, he would repeat verses from the Bible or from the old litanies, and "we very often heard distinctly," says Lockhart, "the cadences of the *Dies Iræ*." The Earl of Roscommon, in the century previous, who himself translated the poem (1717), died repeating his own version of the seventeenth stanza :

Prostrate, my contrite heart I rend ;
My God, my Father, and my Friend,
Do not forsake me in my end.

It is said that Samuel Johnson could never repeat the tenth stanza without being moved to tears.³

Quærens me sedisti lassus,
Redemisti cruce passus :
Tantus labor non sit cassus.

Seeking me thy love outwore thee,
And the cross, my ransom, bore thee ;
Let not this seem light before thee.⁴

In "Faust" Margaret hears with horror and dismay this great funeral hymn of the Roman Catholic Church sung, and "from that moment of salutary pain she becomes another woman."⁵ Meinhold in his "Amber-Witch"—*Die Bernsteinhexe*—makes a similar use of it, and Carlyle shows us Werner, the tragedian, quoting the eighth stanza in his strange "last testament" as his reason for having written neither a defense nor an accusation of his life: "With trembling I reflect that I myself shall first learn in its whole terrific compass what I properly was, when these lines shall be read by men ; that is to say, in a point of time which

¹ Christ in Song, Lond. ed., 1870, p. 290 ; and Library of Religious Poetry, N. Y., 1885, p. 899.

² Cantos xxx, xxxi.

³ See Stanley, Sinai and Palestine, new ed., N. Y., 1882, p. 308.

⁴ Duffield, transl. Latin Hymns, p. 254.

⁵ Goethe, Faust, lines 3453, ff., 4324-30.

shall be for me no time, in a condition in which all experience shall be for me too late :

"Rex tremendæ majestatis,
Qui salvandos salvas gratis,
Salva me, fons pietatis ! 1"

King of majesty tremendous,
Who dost free salvation send us,
Fount of pity, then befriend us.¹

Its power in awakening hardened sinners is depicted by Justus Kerner in his *Wahnsinnige Brüder*, and the great hymnologist, Daniel, compares it to the picture of the day of judgment, which was the means of converting the king of the Bulgarians to Christianity.² It has been translated more often than any other hymn, there being more than a hundred versions in German and at least one hundred and fifty-four in English, of which ninety-six are by Americans.³

Next in power and majesty to the *Dies Iræ*, and superior to all other mediæval hymns in its pathos and passionate tenderness, is the *Stabat Mater Dolorosa*. It is the production of Jacopone, or Jacobus de Benedictis, an intense ascetic of the Franciscan Order, who died at Todi, in Umbria, in 1306. While it is marred by many expressions of the mariolatry of its time, its beauty and force made it a leading lyric of the Church, and it still commands the universal admiration of Protestants as well as of Roman Catholics. As a work of art it rivals, if it does not surpass, all paintings in its exquisite voicing of human sympathy, both with the Divine Sufferer of Calvary and with the pierced mother-heart of her who stood near the cross. Of its ten stanzas, the following is the first, from the translation of Coles, and well illustrates the rhythmic flow of this whole imperishable hymn :

Stood the afflicted mother weeping,
Near the cross her station keeping,
Whereon hung her Son and Lord ;
Through whose spirit sympathizing,
Sorrowing and agonizing,
Also passed the cruel sword.⁴

¹ Trans. W. T. Irons, Lond., 1848. See Carlyle, *Crit. and Misc. Essays*, i, 136 (Works, Bost. ed., xiii, 136).

² Duffield, *Latin Hymns*, 219, 250.

³ For a partial list, see Duffield, 250-252. On the *Dies Iræ*, see Duffield, ch. xxiii ; Lisso, *Dies Iræ*, Berl., 1840 ; Daniel, ii, 103-131, v, 110-116 ; Coles, *Dies Iræ* in *13 Original Versions*, N. Y., 1859, 5th ed., 1868 ; [C. C. Nott,] *The Seven Great Hymns of the Mediæval Church*, N. Y., 1886, 7th ed., enl., 1883 ; Anketell in *Am. Church Rev.*, 1873 ; Shipley in *Dubl. Rev.*, 1883.

⁴ *Stabat Mater dolorosa,
Juxta crucem lacrymosa,
Dum pendebat Filius ;
Cujus animam gementem,
Contristatam ac dolentem,
Pertransivit gladius.*

No one can listen to the sweet notes of Adam of St. Victor, Bernard of Clairvaux, and many other hymnists of the time without being borne aloft into the holier spheres. Sacred music knows no limitations, and the harp notes of the great singers of the Middle Ages were no small compensation for the superstition and ecclesiastical misdoings of that period. But while the notes of sacred song were heard throughout the Middle Ages, we must remember that it was a priestly period, and the people had no part except to say Amen at the close, or to respond "Kyrie eleison" at the appropriate places. It was left to Protestantism to take the immortal hymns of that time and to give them into the hands of the worshipping congregation, in order that in their sublime strains praise may be rendered to God. Even to-day some Roman Catholics have sought in vain to promote congregational singing. All sacerdotal dogmas kill the voice of praise.

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CHAPTER LV.

THE SACRED DRAMA.

THE instinct of the Christian Church has always condemned the theater. This arose, first, because it is against the dignity of the Christian character and inconsistent with the high calling of men made in the image of God, who is a God of truth, that human beings should devote their lives to acting a part, and, second, the whole history of the theater proves it to be of irreligious, not to say of immoral, tendency. Many noble minds, Lessing among the chief, have endeavored to give to the theater a moral environment, and to prove that it does not essentially tend toward the weakening of the moral forces. But the trend of the public acting of the drama is against all the beautiful theories and kindly advice. It is not a matter of surprise that the entire early Church put the profession of the actor and all theatrical performances under the ban. The theater then, as it has in a less degree ever since, reveled in a world of immoral suggestion, and it could not be countenanced except at the cost of the noblest principles for which Christianity stood.¹

But the darker side of human nature was too strong for the Church, and long after the empire was nominally converted the theater was doing its work of insidious immorality, to the great disgust of the Church Fathers. John Chrysostom attacks the exhibitions with untiring indignation, and warns the Christians against these seductions. He says that at Antioch his audience brought into the Church the habits acquired in theater-going, and, instead of laying exhortations of the preacher silently to heart, watched for opportunities of indulging in theatrical applause.² In his first homily on John he says that many Christians, after listening to the words of Scripture and the Holy Spirit speaking therein, go away to witness lewd women, "saying obscene things and representing still more obscene actions, and effeminate men indulging in buffoonery one with another." Salvian, who died in 495, when describing the recklessness of the population of Carthage during the invasion of the Vandals, says that

EARLY PRO-
TESTS.

¹ See Plumptre, *Actors and Actresses*, in Smith and Cheetham, *Dict. of Chr. Antiquities*, i, 15, and Mullinger, *Theater*, in the same, ii, 1952, with references there given.

² *Op.* (Migne), ix, 227; Neander, *Der heil. Chrysos.*, i, 118.

the Church of Carthage indulged in the wild excitement of the circus and the softer delights of the theater, and while the victims of the one were butchered without the city the victims of the other were debauched within.¹ In the seventh century Isidorus testifies to the still triumphant strife of the stage, and he warns Christians against sharing the "mad excitement of the circus, the impurity of the theater, the cruelty of the amphitheater, the barbarity of the arena, and the luxury of the play."² Augustine associates theatrical performances with paganism,³ and as most of the plays represented the escapades of the gods Christians could not, in fact, participate in them without becoming accomplices in idolatry.

The popularity of the theater, however, and the need of diversion forced upon the Church the endeavor to minister to the craving of man for the spectacular. The service of the mass itself became a dramatic performance, where the priest changed the elements of the sacrament into the body of Christ, and acted over again the passion of Calvary.⁴ But as the mass was celebrated in Latin, a language of which the most of the people were ignorant, it became necessary to provide pictures which they could understand. Tableaux vivants, representing in dumb show the story of the lesson of the day, were first introduced. In the fifth century the clergy represented living pictures of the Adoration of the Magi, the Marriage at Cana, the Death of the Saviour, and other subjects. Dramatic possibilities here were infinite, and the priests gradually availed themselves of them to the full. In the tenth century it was customary, as a part of the regular Church service and at the appropriate season of the year, to perform the office of the Shepherds, varied with the Star, the Massacre of the Innocents, or the Sepulcher. In these offices the priests spoke the texts and the congregation gave the responses. "The music steadily grew more dramatic," says Binns, "and sometimes the Roman Church, in its zeal for producing edification by any lawful means, and by means of sweet sounds in particular, has gone very far. At present in the chapel of the Vatican on Good Friday, after the Old Testament Psalms and Prophecies, the Passion of Christ, from John's gospel, is sung, arranged as oratorio. Christ is tenor, Pilate bass, and there are choruses for the priests, soldiers, and people, interspersed with evangelical narrative in recitative."⁵ A solemn dance is still performed at Easter before the high altar of the cathedral of Seville, which recalls the movements of the Greek chorus.⁶

¹ De Gub. Dei, vi, 12 (A. D. 451).

² Etym., xix, 59; Migne, lxxii, 409.

³ De Civit. Dei, i, 32.

⁴ Ward, Dramatic Literature, i, 18.

⁵ The Religious Drama, in Modern Rev., i, 801 (Oct., 1880).

⁶ Oxenham, Miracle Plays, in Essays in Eccl. Hist., p. 202.

The next step was to take the drama under the wings of the Church as an ordinary means of religious instruction, and comparatively early in the Middle Ages, at least in the East, this was done. The intercourse of nations occasioned by the Crusades introduced the sacred drama into the West. The plays were of three kinds: 1. Mysteries, representation of the great doctrines of the Christian redemption; 2. Miracle Plays, representation of the Scripture narrative; and, 3. Moralities, representation by allegorical personification of virtues, vices, and abstract qualities. The oldest extant Mysteries are French, and belong to the eleventh century; the oldest German play, the Rise and Fall of Antichrist, found in the convent of Tegern-See, belongs to the twelfth century, and by the middle of the thirteenth century the popularity of the Mysteries and Miracle Plays was at its zenith. They were first held in the Church, but partly on account of the incongruities and abuses which crept in, and partly on account of the lack of space to accommodate the crowds, Innocent II in 1210 forbade the representation of plays in the Church and taking any part in them by the clergy. When the drama was celebrated in the open air scope was given for more elaborate presentation, a huge stage being erected in three tiers, the highest representing heaven; the lowest, hell; and the middle, the earth. The daring imagination of the mediæval mind stopped at nothing in its desire to show forth the sacred history of man from the creation to the judgment day. One of the favorite plays was the Harrowing of Hell, in which Christ goes into the underworld and delivers the patriarchs who have been awaiting his coming. The awful history as outlined in the Apocalypse is represented on the stage—the terrors of the judgment being strongly pictured, so as to make a vivid impression on the spectators. Popes, emperors, kings, queens, magistrates, and merchants in turn confess their guilt and the justness of the eternal agony which is their doom. A condemned pope thus exclaims:

"Now bootless it is to ask mercie,
For, living, highest in earth was I;
Also silver and simony
Made me a pope unworthy."

A wicked queen piteously cries out:

"Where is my beauty that was so bright?
Where is the baron, where is the knight,
Where in the world is any wight,
That for my fairness now will fight?"

Christ is represented sitting on a cloud with the instruments of his passion—the cross, the crown of thorns, the nails, the spear, but exhibiting his body more marred and wounded by the sins of man than by the tortures of his Jewish murderers, and pronounces sentence of final doom. To the saved he says :

“Come hither to me, my darlings deare;
While I was on the earth here
Ye gave me meet in good manere, . . .
Yes, forsooth, my friendes dear,
Such as poor and naked were,
Ye clad and fed them both in fear,
And harbored them alsoe.”

Turning to the wicked, he says :

“Nay, when ye saw the least of mine
That on earth suffered pine,
To help them ye did naught incline;
Therefore go to the fire.
And tho’ my sweet mother deare,
And all the saints that ever were,
Prayed for you right now here,
Alas, it were too late!”¹

There is no doubt that the influence of these plays on the rough, semicivilized inhabitants of Europe was salutary, especially when enacted with gravity and in a religious spirit.

But the religious drama was no exception to the common fate of all spectacular artificial representations in their inevitable descent to buffoonery and license. In the Miracle play of the Deluge Noah’s wife refuses to go into the ark unless she takes her gossips with her. She has drunk many a quart of ale with them, and will not abandon them now :

“Yea, Syr, set up ye sayle
And rowe forth with evil hele (health),
For, without any fayle,
I will not out of this towne,
—But I have my gossips every one;
One foote further I will not gone:
They shall not drowne, by St. John!
An [if] I may save their lyfe,
—They loved me full well, by Christ!
But thou wilt let them in thy chist,
Else rowe forth, Noe, whither thou list,
And get thee a new wife.”

¹ See Withrow, *The Early English Drama*, in *Methodist Rev.*, July, 1894, pp. 545, ff.

Noah complains that women are crabbed always, and tells Shem to bring her in by main force. When this is done she gives her husband a slap in the face. "There, take that!" she says. Noah answers, "Ah, marry, this is hot! It is good to be still."

An interesting illustration of the irreverence and fantastic extravagance of these plays under the auspices of the Church is given by Vitet. To commemorate the capture of the English fortress of Dieppe, on August 14, 1443, there was celebrated in that city for two centuries at every anniversary of the battle a series of Mystery plays. A special confraternity was formed, "which arranged the program and marshaled the huge procession, and toward its close eleven of their number, dressed as apostles and headed by a priest who represented St. Peter, carried in a bower of foliage a beautiful girl intended to personate the blessed Virgin. After MYSTERY PLAY OF DIEPPE. a march of several hours through the streets the phalanx reached the portals of St. Jacques, along whose crowded aisles and amidst incredible disorder a way was with difficulty made for the Virgin by the sturdy blows from the sticks and halberds of her attendants. At the end of the choir a lofty stage was erected, and over it a venerable graybeard, in royal robes, crowned with a tiara, and seated upon clouds, amidst which a dazzling sun of gold shone over his head and a host of angels surrounded his throne, personated the eternal Father. By ingenious mechanism the angels were made to ascend and descend, to flap their wings and wave their censers and lift their trumpets, like the modern Italian fantoccini. At the commencement of the mass two angels came down, and taking the sacred Virgin bore her upward as she lay upon her dying bed before the high altar in a kind of garden of Gethsemane made of flowers and fruit of painted wax. Her ascension was so graduated that she reached the throne at the exact moment of the adoration of the host. Then the Father thrice gave her his blessing, an angel crowned her, and the clouds of heaven seemed to close beneath her feet and shut her out from the spectators' eyes. Meanwhile the choir below presented a yet stranger blending of comedy and devotion. On one side St. Peter administered the holy communion to the apostles, who were bound to do his bidding under penalty of a fine; on the other a buffoon, called Grimpesulais, or Gingalet, performed a thousand antics, now pretending to be dead, now coming to life again, and now apostrophizing the Virgin and the Deity, to the unspeakable delight of the mob. On the two following days the mysteries of the nativity and the annunciation were the scene of yet stranger comedies and more grotesque saturnalia. Such was the passion of the Dieppois for

their Mystery play that it lasted until the middle of the seventeenth century, despite the earnest desire of the magistrates to banish it from the Church. But in 1647 Louis XIV and the queen dowager, being present at it, were so offended at its profanity that it was forthwith suppressed by royal edict." This fragment of municipal French history, with its mingled piety and brutality, is thoroughly characteristic of the Middle Ages.

The religious drama lingered on until the Reformation and after, and was employed by the contestants in that great strife to satirize one another. John Heywood's "Four P's," 1562, the Morality "Everyman," 1531, Sir David Lindsay's famous "Satyre of Three Estates," and Bishop Bale's "King John," are some of these controversial interludes in which, with rude and extravagant descriptions and denunciations, the fight was carried on between Roman Catholic and Protestant. Lindsay's piece is one of the most powerful satires ever written—an unsparing exposure of the corruption in all classes of the community, and it formed one of the chief means by which the way was paved for the Reformation. An illustration of the realism of these plays is afforded by the Tragedy of the Ten Virgins, which was performed at Eisenach in 1332 to celebrate the restoration of peace. The Landgrave Frederick, the Joyful, was present, and was greatly angered and alarmed at the close of the drama, where the Foolish Virgins appeal in vain to the intercession of the blessed Virgin, and are finally thrust down to hell, notwithstanding her entreaties to her Son to pardon them. "What means this, if God will not pity us even when Mary and the saints intercede?" The fright and indignation of Frederick threw him into a fit of apoplexy, from which he never recovered. He died two years afterward.

In a Passion play at Metz, in 1437, the priest who took the part of Christ nearly died of exhaustion on the cross, and another priest, who represented Judas, narrowly escaped hanging himself, so terribly vivid and real were the emotions of the performers.² The crucifixion scene is still very trying to the chief performer at Ober-Ammergau, who has to remain some twenty minutes on the cross.

But the Mysteries and Miracle plays gradually merged into the literary drama of modern times, which has borne such splendid fruitage; although still in the little hamlet of the Tyrolese valley true-hearted peasants show forth in the spirit of the humblest and

¹ Dieppe, in *Church Quar. Rev.*, viii, 387, 388 (July, 1879); M. L. Vitet, *Hist. des Anciennes Villes de France. Première série. Haute-Normandie, Dieppe*, 2 vols, Paris, 1835.

² Oxenham, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

sincerest piety and with marvelous dramatic intensity and truth the immortal story of God's love in Jesus Christ—the solitary representative in modern times of one of the most interesting developments in mediæval Church history.¹

¹ On the Passion Play at Ober-Ammergau, see Binns, *The Religious Drama*, in *Mod. Rev.*, Oct., 1880, i 801; and John P. Jackson's magnificent work, published in quarto in London and Munich, 1873, which contains very rich illustrations and strong descriptions.

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CHAPTER LVI.

CHRISTIAN ART.

THE beginnings of Christian art were humble, in keeping with the character of the first professors of Christianity. Not many rich, not many mighty, were called. No fine artistic development, therefore, could be expected. Even when beginnings were made they followed the ordinary pagan modes. "Christian art followed the technical rules of the period, and adopted whatever processes were in use among the artists of the day, and were most suited to the particular work in hand, whether fresco, tempora, or encaustic." The subjects followed the same order. The Christians conformed to the practice of the age in which they lived. "Christian art," says Venables, "was no more than the continuation of the art Christianity found already existing as VENABLES ON ART IN ROME. the exponent of the ideas of the age, with such modifications as its purer faith and higher morality rendered necessary. The artists employed were not necessarily Christians; indeed, in most cases, especially in the earliest times, they would probably be pagans, working in the style and depicting the subjects to which they were accustomed, only restricted by the watchful care of their employers that no devices were introduced that could offend the moral tone of the Christians. In the earliest examples there is absolutely nothing distinctive of the religion professed. 'At first,' says Burgon, 'they even used many of the same devices for mural decorations as the pagans had used, always excepting anything that was immoral or idolatrous; introducing, however, every here and there, as the ideas occurred to them, something more significant of their own creed, until by and by the whole was exclusively Christian.'"¹

The deep-rooted aversion of the Jews to all representations of the Deity made its impress on the early Church, and at first the Christian artist contented himself with the simple naturalism of the decoration already common. The earliest Christian frescoes are simply the ordinary subjects of the times, vines, grapes, birds, butterflies, winged genii, gracefully draped female figures, and other objects still to be seen in museums from Pompeii.

But gradually these familiar objects became invested in the devout

¹ Letters from Rome, p. 250.

² Fresco, in Smith and Cheetham, Dict. of Chr. Antiquities, i, 691.

imagination of the Christians with suggestions of their Master, and nature became a sacrament full of intimations of its Creator.

THE VINE AND
OTHER EM-
BLEMS.

The vine is one of the earliest subjects chosen, the words of the Lord, "I am the vine, ye are the branches," dwelling in the minds of the disciples and producing an artistic representation of rare beauty. In the very earliest catacomb, that of Domitilla, dating from the end of the first or beginning of the second century, we have the vine trailing over the vaulted roof with all the freedom of nature, in which birds are pecking and winged boys are gathering the grapes. Mommsen says that no decorative artist of the Augustan period need be ashamed of the effect.¹ The vine did not exist longer than the sixth century as an emblem, after that being idly decorative.² In connection with the vine, as well as apart from it, the symbol of the Good Shepherd was frequent in the early centuries, that also being discarded after the fourth or fifth century. The fish symbol is prominent in the catacombs, representing at once the Saviour himself—the anagrammatic 'ΙΧΘΥΣ' and the human object of his salvation—the Christian deriving his life from the waters of baptism,⁴ while the fisherman spoke of him who by the Gospel hook had taken men for life, not for death.⁵ This image is developed in the Orphic hymn attributed to Clement of Alexandria, thus graphically rendered by W. L. Alexander :

"Fisher of men whom thou to life dost bring;
From evil sea of sin,
And from the billowy strife,
Gathering pure fishes in
Caught with sweet bait of life." ⁶

Clement recommends the use of this symbol as one well known, and he also commends those of the dove, ship, lyre, and anchor. In times of persecution the symbol of the cross was disguised, but no danger could attach to the use of the fish. In the Callixtine catacomb the agapæ are universally set forth under the symbols of bread and fish. The billets given to the newly baptized were frequently in the form of the symbolical fish, as pledges or tokens of the rights given in baptism. After the conversion of Constantine the symbol of the fish gave way to that of the cross. Even pagan subjects were

¹ In Contemp. Rev., May, 1871, p. 170.

² For full information see art. Vine (in Art), by Tyrwhitt, in Smith and Cheetham.

³ As is well known, this symbol is derived from the initials of the words, Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτὴρ.

⁴ Tertullian, de Bap., c. i.

⁵ Venables, l. c.

⁶ Ante-Nicene Fathers (Edinb. ed.), i, 344.

pressed into the service of the Church. Orpheus, captivating the wild beasts with the sound of his lyre, was adopted as the symbol of Christ subduing the savage passions of men by the music of the Gospel, and Ulysses, deaf to the alluring voices of the sirens, represented the believer triumphing over the seductions of worldly and sensual pleasure.¹ It is strange how the pagan symbols were so freely retained without any thought of their incongruity. Jordan is represented as a river god, a mountain by a mountain god, a city by a goddess with a mural crown, and night by a female figure with a torch and star-bespangled robe.² It must be said, however, that some of the stern moralists, like Tertullian,³ condemned all representations of religious subjects, and even Clement of Alexandria, and Origen, two of the men of widest outlook in the pre-Nicene age, looked askance at artistic development in the Church.⁴

But as soon as Christian art became free enough to range through historical scenes, instead of confining itself to allegorical representations, a brighter future began. It is most fortunate that no authentic portrait of Christ exists. That such is the fact is plainly implied in the words of Irenæus and Augustine,⁵ and Martigny well observes that the controversy, from the second century onward, over the question as to the comeliness of our Lord's personal appearance makes it perfectly certain that no authentic picture of him ever existed. Therefore the portraits that prevail are all the more interesting as evidences of how different minds represented to themselves the face of the historic Jesus. Perhaps the earliest of these likenesses, now lost, is that of the chapel of the Callixtine catacomb, of the second century, and which admirably forms the model of that traditional face of Christ which, through Leonardo da Vinci, has passed into all Christian painting, although Lord Lindsay thinks that the traditional head was not known until the fourth century, when it was sent to Constantia, sister of Constantine, by Eusebius of Casarea.⁶

Unfortunately, the growth of the ascetic spirit gave a false conception to that beautiful and engaging form in which dwelt the divine Son, and around which little children loved to gather; and it may be true, also, as Tyrwhitt remarks, that manly beauty came to be associated in the eyes of the monastic Church only with the

¹ Venables, *l. c.*; Martigny, *Dict. des Ant. Chrét.*, pp. 447, 643; De Rossi, *Bulletino*, 1863, p. 35.

² Kugler, *Handbook of Painting*, pt. i, p. 9.

³ Adv. Hermog., i; De Idolatr., v.

⁴ Protrep., iv.; Cont. Cels., iv, 31.

⁵ Iren., *Contra Hæres.*, i, 25; Aug., *De Trinitate*, viii, 4, 5.

⁶ Tyrwhitt, *Jesus Christ, Representations of*, in Smith and Cheetham, i, 875.

eagerness and fierceness of barbarian soldiers. The pictures of Christ, if not hideous, were ill-favored. Under the influence of the barbaric invasions he was regarded as a divine deliverer. "The Christian assembly on earth, under the hands of Alaric and Genserik, Attila and Alboin, was utterly hopeless of any good on earth. The eastern end of the Byzantine or Romanesque church from the sixth century begins accordingly to be adorned as a mystical representation of heaven, beyond the wilderness of earth, with the portrait of Christ at its center. The Lord whom all seek so piteously shall suddenly come to his temple; and the eyes of distressed congregations are allowed a vision in symbol of his presence breaking in on the distresses of later days. One of the earliest examples of churches thus ornamented is that of SS. Cosma and Damians at Rome. Here the figure of our Lord, coming with clouds and standing on the firmament, is grand and sublime in the highest degree, and is perhaps the earliest and greatest instance of very early date in which passionate conception, supported by powerful color, forces itself, without any other advantage, into the foremost ranks of creation in art. The towering and all-commanding form of the Lord must have seemed to fill the whole temple, with the symbolic hand of the First Person of the Trinity above his head and the dove on his right hand. The mystic Jordan, or river of death, is at his feet, and on its other side, with small rocks and trees to indicate the wilderness of this world, are the twelve sheep of his flock, with the houses of Jerusalem and Bethlehem, he himself appearing again in the center on earth as the Lamb of the elder dispensation."¹ It is instructive to notice the breadth and boldness of these magnificent artistic creations in the ancient and mediæval Church. A part of the pictures is frequently inlaid in white and gold mosaic. But we must not assume from the thin, tall, ascetic Christ of mediæval art that the first painters had a like gloomy conception. On the contrary, they shared the cheerfulness, buoyancy, and hopefulness which even Lecky has remarked in the early Church, and they represented Jesus after the classic manner as comely and beautiful.

Lord Lindsay has depreciated the earliest artistic expression of the Church as shown in the innumerable frescoes of the catacombs. He calls them "poor productions," "where the meagerness of invention is only equaled by the feebleness of execution, inferior, generally speaking, to the worst specimens of contemporary heathen art."² But this is a hasty and superficial judgment. On the contrary, many of these remains are fully equal to the best pagan work

TYRWITT ON
REPRESENTA-
TIONS OF
CHRIST.

¹ Tyrwhitt, p. 876.

² Hist. of Chr. Art, i, 89.

of the time. With juster appreciation Kugler speaks of the "grandeur of arrangement of the earliest paintings, their peculiar solemnity and dignity of style," though there were, of course, technical defects which are accounted for in part by the haste with which the work was done in a time of danger and uncertainty.¹ It is interesting to notice how these frescoes were made. According to Crowe and Cavalcaselle, the artists boldly stained the rough-coated walls with light water-colors of a lively tint, and rapidly defined the outlines of their figures with strong dark lines. The eyes, nose, and mouth were similarly defined with black lines. A dash of warm yellow-red tone was thrown over the flesh portions of the figure, the shadows being worked in in broad masses with a deeper tint of the same warm hue. The details were almost entirely left to the imagination of the beholder. The draperies were colored primary rays, indicating a tolerable acquaintance with the laws of harmony. These critics also claim that the "attitudes are not without grandeur, nor the masses of light and shade without breadth, nor the drapery without simplicity."²

The free use of painting by the mediæval Church found an example in the fearless application by Paulinus of Nola (354-431) of the principle afterward enunciated by John of Damascus, that pictures are the books of the unlearned. The festival of St. Felix gathered together an immense concourse of country folk, whose feasting usually ended in a debauch. To beguile them from their baser pleasures, to fix their minds on higher things, and to instruct them in sacred history, Paulinus resolved to try the ministry of art, with a lavishness which would have pleased the heart of the lamented William Morris. He embellished the ceiling and walls of both the old and new basilica with a series of scriptural paintings. He tells all about these pictures, and gives a catalogue of them in his own poems. The whole Scripture history was also painted on the walls of Charlemagne's palace at Ingelheim.

The same hesitation with regard to painting which we have noted in the early Church applied also to sculpture and the plastic arts. The first centuries were exceedingly sterile in any distinctly Christian works of sculpture. D'Agincourt searched through Italy for fifty years, and could discover only three or four well-authenticated cases of Christian statues. For seven or eight centuries the art of sculpture was extinct, except on works in relief on sarcophagi and ivories.³ The chief piece of sculpture from the ancient Church is

¹ See Kugler, *Handbook of Painting*, p. 14.

² Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *Hist. of Painting*, i, 3.

³ Venables, *Sculpture, Christian*, in Smith and Cheetham, ii, 1863.

the famous bronze figure of St. Peter in the Vatican basilica, placed by Appell, Perkins, Lübke, and Venables in the fifth century, although J. H. Parker regards it as a work of the thirteenth. It is in every respect a close imitation of the ancient Roman statues, and displays great care and technical skill.¹ The statue of Hippolytus, in the Lateran Museum, belongs, perhaps, to the sixth century,² and is pronounced by Winckelmann and others to be the best known example of early Christian sculpture.

¹ Lübke, *Hist. of Sculpture*, i, 337.

² Reber, *Hist. of Mediæval Art*, p. 106, places the Hippolytus statue at 235.

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CHAPTER LVII.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION AND THE RISE OF UNIVERSITIES.

IN the beginning of the Christian Church religious education was very simple. It was confined to the main facts of the Gospel history and the more important principles of Christian truth. Later it became more elaborate, and the interpolation of question and answer in Acts viii, 37,

SCOPE OF
EARLY EDUCA-
TION.

shows an uneasy consciousness of the difference between the simplicity of the apostolic practice and the more careful training given in the second and third centuries. That training in the hands, not of special teachers, but of the ordinary Church officers—bishops, deacons, presbyters, and readers—included systematic instruction in a wide range of doctrinal instruction. From the great works of Saint Augustine—*De Catechizandis Rudibus*—and Cyril of Jerusalem—*Catecheses*—on religious education we learn that the range of subjects includes the sacred history of the world from the creation downward, the allegorical meaning of the Old Testament and the types of the law, the Gospel narratives and the law of Christ, and the whole scope of theology: God, Christ, the birth from the Virgin, the cross, the burial, the resurrection, the ascension, the Holy Spirit, the soul, the body, the Holy Scriptures, meats, the general resurrection, and judgment to come. Augustine also drew around him in his episcopal house the more promising of the younger clergy, and instructed them in the Scriptures, and from those who had been thus privileged it was customary to select candidates for the offices of the Church in Africa.¹ Special schools were established, as those at Alexandria, Caesarea in Palestine founded by Origen, and Jerusalem founded by Clement of Alexandria, while that at Alexandria became the most famous in the ancient Church.

But what about instruction in secular knowledge and the relation of the Church to pagan culture? It is an evidence of the breadth of view of the Church that, in spite of the attempts of some recent writers to represent ancient Christianity as intolerably narrow and anticivic, the Christians sent their children constantly to the pagan schools,

CHRISTIANS
USING PAGAN
SCHOOLS.

¹ Possidius, *Vita Aug.*, xi.

where they were instructed in the whole course of the ordinary Roman curriculum. The wonderful familiarity of the Fathers with pagan literature attests the wisdom of the Church in this respect, and her noble faith that those who possessed the wisdom of Christ would be enlarged in mind, but not corrupted in heart, by contact with the great masters of Greece and Rome. On the benches of that university, if it might be so called, which Marcus Aurelius founded in Athens, Diodorus of Tarsus, Gregory Nazianzen, and St. Basil sat side by side with Julian, the later emperor, and with the most ambitious youths of paganism.

Of the school life there Gregory Nazianzen has given us an excellent picture,¹ not omitting the hazing and rough horseplay of the initiation exercises into the college fraternities, from which it appears that in this respect the American school is far more barbaric than the Greek.² He says that there were two roads which they were very familiar with in Athens—one leading to the Christian “buildings and the teachers there,” the other to “secular instructors.” “Feasts, theaters, meetings, banquets” they left to those who desired them, but as for themselves they “had but one great business and name—to be, and to be called, Christians.” “Hureful as Athens was,” he says, “to others in spiritual things—and this is of no slight consequence to the pious, for the city is richer in those evil riches, idols, than the rest of Greece, and it is hard to avoid being carried along with their devotees, and adherents—yet we, our minds being closed up and fortified against this,

GREGORY ON
THE PAGAN
SCHOOLS.

suffered no injury. On the contrary, strange as it may seem, we were thus the more confirmed in the faith by our perception of their trickery and unreality, which led us to despise these divinities in the very home of their worship. And if there is, or is believed to be, a river flowing with fresh water through the sea,³ or an animal which can dance in fire,⁴ the consumer of all things, such were we among our comrades.”⁵ He speaks of the intense devotion of the pagan students to rhetoric, of which noble art, says the author of the Greek Life of Gregory, he and Basil culled the flower, while avoiding the falsity. The same authority states that their studies included

¹ See his Oration xliii (Panegyric on St. Basil), 15, ff.

² From these rough exercises Basil was excused through the influence of Gregory, as Stanley was at Rugby.

³ The Alpheus, a river of Arcadia.

⁴ The salamander, a lizard said to be impervious to the action of fire. See Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, x, 67.

⁵ *Greg. Naz., Orat. xliii*, 21 (*Post-Nicene Fathers*, vii, 402). See Jackson, *St. Basil*, in same series, p. xv.

grammar, philosophy, music, geometry, and astronomy.¹ Tertul-
 lian, indeed, expressly interdicts Christians from teaching in these
 schools, because of their necessity of commending the pagan cults ;
 but even he allows the lawfulness of learning from heathen teachers,
 and indorses the plea that if we repudiate secular studies divine
 studies are impossible.² "Hence it was," says Newman, "that in
 the early ages the Church allowed her children to attend the
 heathen schools for the acquisition of secular accomplishments,
 where, as no one can doubt, evils existed, at least as great evils
 as can attend a mixed education now. The gravest NEWMAN'S
TESTIMONY.
 Fathers recommended for Christian youth the use of
 pagan masters ; the most saintly bishops and most authoritative
 doctors had been sent in their adolescence by Christian parents to
 pagan lecture halls."³ In spite of the debates in the ancient Church
 concerning the desirability of studying the productions of pagan
 genius, all the more eminent of the Christian Fathers for five hun-
 dred years received their intellectual training in pagan schools, or
 in schools which followed the traditions of pagan culture.⁴ This
 practice was warmly defended, especially in Alexandria, "not with
 the notion," as Newman says, "that the cultivation which litera-
 ture gives was any substantial improvement of our moral nature,
 but as thereby opening the mind and rendering it susceptible to an
 appeal. Nor as if the heathen literature itself had any direct con-
 nection with the matter of Christianity, but because it contained
 in it the scattered fragments of those original traditions which
 might be made the means of introducing a student to the Christian
 system, being the ore in which the true metal was found."⁵

The great Fathers were formed by many teachers, pagan and
 Christian, and they might refer to Chrysostom as an example, for
 he was educated in religious knowledge by his Christian mother,
 in rhetoric by Libanius, and in philosophy by Andragathias, two

¹ Migne, Pat. Græc., xxxv, 256. See Mullinger, Schools, in Smith and Cheetham, Dict. of Chr. Antiquities, ii, 1847.

² De Idol., x.

³ Idea of a University, 8th ed., p. 9. Newman says this in partial excuse of the Irish (Catholic) bishops in "suffering the introduction" into Ireland of a "system of Mixed Education in the schools called National." But this suffering, he claims, is only temporary for expedience' sake. Even at the date of his writing both the bishops and the pope had decreed that for university culture the mixed principle was no longer tenable for Irish Catholics. But, alas ! the ill-fated Catholic University at Dublin did not long afford them a chance for the enforcement of this decree.

⁴ For a partial list see Mullinger, l. c., p. 1848.

⁵ The Church of Alexandria, in Ariens of the Fourth Century, 5th ed., p. 86.

heathen teachers, and finally in Christian doctrine by Miletius and Diodorus.¹

But the incursions of the barbarians and the growth of the monastic spirit led to a new disposition of the whole subject. The monastic schools at first were strongly inclined to prohibit the study of pagan literature, but this was only a temporary narrowness. The founders of the Benedictines neither commanded nor forbade the study of secular authors, although Gregory the Great exerted his powerful influence on the side of obscurantism. He expressly forbade bishops to study pagan literature, and strongly censured Didier, Bishop of Vienne, for instructing some of his clergy in classical literature—an employment of time which he declared to be unbecoming even in a pious layman.² At any rate the monasteries became fountains of learning sacred and profane, and they were supplemented by the episcopal schools. Charles the Great organized learning throughout his dominions under the inspiring direction of Alcuin, who, although well read in the Latin classics, and with an earnest intention to improve the schools of the empire, was too deferential toward Gregory's ideal. An interesting document has come down to us—the Capitulary of Charles the Great or of Alcuin concerning studies. The tone is altogether religious. Learning is insisted upon chiefly for its value in elucidating the hidden meanings of Scripture, and one of the Capitularies directs that in connection with every episcopal see and monastery there shall be a school where boys must be taught the psalms, notation (*notas*), singing, the use of the Computus, and the Latin tongue. It was required that the pupils shall be supplied with accurately transcribed text-books.

The East and the Celtic monasteries exemplified a wider culture. The text-book of Martianus Capella, which for its free speculative tendency was reprobated by the Latin clergy, had a wide vogue among the Celtic monasteries. In the time of Gregory of Tours it seemed to be a common manual for those of his countrymen who made any profession of learning. It was rich in its suggestions of heresies; it contained an anticipation of the Copernican astronomy in the statement that Mercury and Venus revolved around the sun; it taught the existence of the antipodes; and it referred to the triune God of Christianity as in

MONASTERIES
AND THE CLASSICAL
STUDIES.

CELTIC AND
IRISH MONAS-
TERIES.

¹ Kihn, *Aeltere christlichen Schulen*, p. 60.

² John, *Vita Greg.* III, 33; *Greg.*, Ep. xi, 54. Gregory's great work, *Magna Moralia*, an Exposition of the Book of Job, although it abounds in the most extravagant allegory, is singularly deficient in either oriental or classical learning.

the same category with the gods of paganism. It was from these pages, says Mullinger, that Virgilius, the Irish bishop of Salzburg, derived his theory of an antipodios, for which horrible heresy he incurred the enmity of Boniface and the anathema of Pope Zacharias.¹ Besides, when John Scotus Eriugena came out with his liberal views he was accused of imbibing them at the same fountain.² The Irish scholars were superior in classical culture. They constantly affected Greek modes of expression, and were familiar with the Greek Fathers. Clement the Scott, when at the court of Carloman in 742, showed himself familiar with the writings of Origen, and refused to be bound by the opinions of Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory.³ The Scotch (Irish) also indulged in speculative arguments and syllogistic reasoning, much to the disgust of some of the continental theologians, one of whom warned the Church that the faith must be defended, not by sophistic trickeries, but by the plain statements of Scripture.⁴ But the Greek and Celtic love for dialectics proved too strong, and in the great schoolmen of the Middle Ages it was revived and used with rare subtlety and power, and education itself entered upon a new career.⁵

In speaking of the mediæval universities we must not forget the terms in use. The tenth century makes us familiar with the Trivium (grammar, rhetoric, and dialectics) and the UNIVERSITY Quadrivium (music, arithmetic, geometry, and astron- TERMINOLOGY. omy), constituting the so-called Seven Arts. But the student must not be deceived by these high-sounding names. Arithmetic and astronomy were of value chiefly because they taught the means of finding Easter. "Music included little but the half-mystical doctrine of numbers and the rule of the plain song; under geometry Boethius gives little but a selection of propositions without

¹ *Lib. cit.*, p. 1858, who refers to Jaffi, *Mon. Mogunt.*, p. 191.

² As by Prudentius of Troyes, Migne, cxv, 1294. Martianus Capella was a rhetorician of Carthage in the fifth century, and the title of his work was, *De Nuptiis Philologiæ et Mercurii, et de Septem Artibus Liberalibus, Libri Novem*. It was edited by Grotius when a boy, probably with the assistance of Joseph Scaliger, Leyden, 1599, and (best ed.) by Kopp, Franef., 1836. It was copied and recopied by the monks. See Ramsay, in Smith, *Dict. of Greek and Roman Biog. and Mythology*, i, 598.

³ Haddon, *Remains*, pp. 274, 286.

⁴ Benedict of Aniane: *Apud modernos scholasticos, maxime apud Scotos, iste syllogismus delusioni* (Baluze, *Misc.*, v, 54); Prudentius: *Nequaquam sophisticis illusionibus, sed Scripturarum sanctorum evidentissimis allegationibus* (Migne, cxv, 1013).

⁵ See the fine art. by Mullinger, in Smith and Cheetham, ii, 1858.

demonstrations.”¹ Under grammar we have a more promising field, for it included not only the ordinary rules, but all classical and philological studies—the systematic interpretation of the classical writers of Greece and Rome. But logic was the richest field, and in that the mediæval mind reveled. Meager at the best, however, as these studies were, they contained the germ of the better fruitage of later times. The word university meant a school in which were gathered persons considered in the aggregate as forming one whole. It is a word commonly used of legal corporations, and long after the use of the word educationally it was used absolutely of town corporations and guilds. Even when applied to scholastic guilds it was used interchangeably with such words as “community,” or “college,” and in its earliest period it is never used absolutely, but always in such places as “university of scholars,” “university of masters and scholars,” “university of study,” and the like. In the mediæval times the word

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was applied to the scholastic body, whether of teachers or scholars. Our word university had for its equivalent, then, not Universitas, but Studium. Studium Generale means not a place where all subjects are studied, but a place where students from all parts are received. As a matter of fact, very few mediæval studies possessed all the faculties. Even Paris, in the days of her highest renown, possessed no faculty of civil law; while throughout the thirteenth century graduation in theology was in practice the almost exclusive privilege of Paris and the English universities.² At the beginning of the thirteenth century the term Studium Generale became common to designate an educational institution, and, although used very vaguely, the words seem to have implied three characteristics: that the school attracted, or at least invited, students from all parts, and not merely those of a particular country or district; that it was a place of higher education, that is to say, that one at least of the higher faculties—theology, law, medicine—was taught there; and that such subjects were taught by a considerable number, at least by a plurality, of masters.³

The universities of the Middle Ages developed, as a rule, out of

¹ Rashdall, *The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, 2 vols. in 3. *Oxf.*, 1895, i, 35. This is a thoroughly scientific work of immense research and of fine literary interest, one of the best products of the modern school of history. See reviews in *The Dial* (by B. A. Hinsdale), Feb. 1, 1896, pp. 96, ff.; *The Nation*, April 16 and 23, 1896, pp. 309, ff., 327, ff.; *Amer. Hist. Rev.* (by G. B. Adams), i, 520-523 (April, 1896).

² *Ibid.*, i, 8.

³ *Ibid.*, i, 9.

the cathedral schools, and not directly, at least, out of the monastic schools.¹ They were a response to the general intellectual quickening of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and not to any new zeal of the monks or clergy for education. At first there was nothing to prevent any school from assuming the title, *Studium Generale*, which belonged preeminently to Bologna and Paris. But gradually the right of constituting *Studia Generalia* was confined to the pope and the emperor, so far as conferring on the universities thus honored the right of their masters to teach in other studia without examination.² Rashdall has dissipated various misconceptions concerning mediæval schools in a passage of unusual interest:

"We have often had occasion to notice that the features of the mediæval university system which have constantly been appealed to as binding precedents were really less universal and less invariable than has been supposed. The University of London, after being empowered by royal charter to do all things that could be done by any university, was legally advised that it could not grant degrees to women without a fresh charter, because no university had ever granted such degrees: we have seen that there were women doctors at Salerno. We have been told that the mediæval university gave a religious education: we have seen that to the majority of students it gave none. We have been told that a university must embrace all faculties: we have seen that many very famous mediæval universities did nothing of the kind. That it eventually came to be considered necessary, or at least usual, that they should do so is due to the eventual predominance of the Parisian type of university organization, minus the very peculiar and exceptional absence of a faculty of civil law. We have been told that the collegiate system is peculiar to England: we have seen that colleges were found in nearly all universities, and that over a great part of Europe university teaching was more or less superseded by college teaching before the close of the mediæval period. We have been told that the great business of a university was considered to be liberal as distinct from professional education: we have seen that many universities were almost exclusively occupied with professional education. We have been assured, on the other hand, that the course in arts was looked upon as a

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¹ Both Denifle, *Die Entstehung der Universitäten des Mittelalters bis 1400*, Berl., 1885, i, 656, and Rashdall, i, 278, 279, agree as to this.

² On the controversy between Denifle and Kaufmann, *Die Gesch. d. Deutschen Universitäten*, i, 3-409, as to the independent right of kings to found *Studia Generalia* without the permission of pope or emperor, see Rashdall, i, 13, 14, notes.

mere preparatory discipline for the higher faculties: we have seen that the majority of students never entered a higher faculty at all."¹

The history of education destroys other popular ideas concerning the Middle Ages. The common assumption of the lethargy of the mediæval intellect is shown to be altogether baseless when we remember that the universities were the centers of attraction of students from all parts of Europe in number unparalleled in our boasted modern civilization. The fact that the courses were open to the

public, that the lectures were given freely to all classes without distinction—men and youth, native and foreigners, favored this. It was only in the sixteenth century that public courses in philosophy ceased at the University of Paris, and Ramus (d. 1572), the reformer of that school, complains of it, and says, "It is not long ago that the last public lecturer in philosophy died." The mediæval statistics of students must certainly be exaggerated, and there is no method of verification, as the great universities kept no official record of students' names. The Italian historians speak of ten thousand students in the thirteenth century and of fifteen thousand in the fifteenth. Abelard, who was in a real sense the founder of the University of Paris, and the most vitalizing thinker of the Middle Ages, was attended by such throngs of students from all parts of Europe that any statement of their number is but a guess. He says himself that the inns were not sufficient to contain them, nor the earth to feed them; and it is safe to conclude with Campayré that there were more than five thousand pupils in his school at Paris.² A chronicler of the time says that the number of students in some of the university towns exceeded that of the citizens.³ Rashdall sifts the figures of the mediæval chroniclers, and reaches the conclusion that the student population in Oxford could at no time have exceeded three thousand, that at Paris ten thousand, and that probably no other university, except perhaps Bologna in the course of the thirteenth century, ever reached an attendance of five thousand.⁴ At any rate these figures show that the mediæval period was by no means a Dead Sea of intellectual calm, but a seething tumultuous life, kept at a high pitch by a mental curiosity and alertness not surpassed in later times.

On the other hand, we must guard ourselves against too sanguine conclusions as to the real equipment of the university men of the

¹ *Ibid.*, ii, 712, 713.

² Campayré, Abelard and the Origin and Early Hist. of Universities, p. 17.

³ *Cartularium Univer. Paris*, i, 20; Campayré, p. 99.

⁴ Rashdall, ii, 581-590.

thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Take religious education as a test. Rashdall shows that this was very meager, that even the priest had most slender attainments in theology, and that his studies at the university, aside from being taught to construe the breviary and to read Latin, had no relation to his work as a clergyman. "A student in arts would have been as little likely to read the Bible," says Rashdall, "as he would be to dip into Justinian or Hippocrates." Much astonishment has sometimes been expressed at Luther's discovery of the Bible at the Convent Library of Erfurt. The real explanation of his previous ignorance of its contents is that Luther entered the order a master of arts who had never studied in a theological faculty. Even the highly educated secular priest, who was not a theologian, or at least a canonist, was not supposed to know anything of the Bible but what was contained in his missal and his breviary. We do occasionally hear of the canonist attending lectures upon the Bible, as it was one of the sources of canon law, though the faculties do not appear to have required such attendance. But he wanted little more than a knowledge of texts to introduce into pious preambles of legal documents. Till he became a friar Luther had some difficulty in even getting access to a copy of the whole Bible, and a doctor of divinity might be grossly ignorant of the New Testament. The 'religious education' of a 'bygone Oxford,' in so far as it had any existence, was an inheritance, not from the Middle Ages, but from the Reformation. In Catholic Europe it was the product of the counter-reformation. 'Until that time the Church provided as little professional education for the future priest as it did 'religious instruction' for the ordinary layman.'¹

The seminary system for clergymen is a modern development. So far as any learning at all was required for the clergy in the later Middle Ages it was mainly secular learning. From one college charter we learn that its founder desired priests to know physics, metaphysics, and logic, and also the first or philosophical part of Aquinas's Sum of Theology. "A bishop," says Rashdall, "is said to have been degraded for being ignorant of Donatus: it may be doubted whether anyone in mediæval times was ever refused ordination—much less degraded when already ordained—for any degree of religious or theological ignorance which was not incompatible with ability to say mass." There were, however, theological

¹ A good illustration of this occurs in a Franciscan constitution of circa 1292: "No brother shall have a Bible or Testament as a favor, unless he be apt in his studies or capable of preaching."—Cartul. Univ. Paris, ii, No. 580.

² ii, 701-703.

departments at some of the universities, and the course was certainly long enough—fifteen or sixteen years. For six years the student was a simple *auditor*: for four years he attended lectures on the Bible, for two years on the Sentences of Peter the Lombard. At the end of these six years, provided he had attained the age of twenty-five, the student might appear before the faculty with his certificates of due attendance on the prescribed lectures, and supplicate for his first course. If he passed the examination he could be formally admitted to the reading of his “first course,” that is, be made a Bachelor.¹

The university played an important part in mediæval history. It was the press of the times, an organ of public opinion of the most influential character. On the course of politics and State affairs it often interfered with marked results, sometimes for the democracy, at others for the king or aristocracy. The university is a great leveler, however, and its main influence is on the side of a constitutional democracy. It was the intellectual emporium of the period, the clearing house of ideas. So far as such a thing was possible in the Middle Ages, the university stood for truth and the liberty of teaching it; and although it would necessarily assume an autocracy and censorship of ideas this rule would always be open to the influence of public opinion, and always favorable within certain limits to “free discussion and theological ingenuity and without motive for unnecessary or malignant persecution.” Both Lea and Rashdall call attention to the noble work of the University of Paris in saving northern France from the ravages of the Inquisition.² Within the walls of the schools it is a fact that classical and biblical learning was preserved, and thus from them came the Renaissance and the Reformation. By the organization of the students as Nations, according to their country, the universities became a truly international institution—a pledge and prophecy of the brotherhood of man.

¹ For full information as to the theological course, which, after all, left the student almost destitute of any scientific knowledge of the Bible, see the same, i, 462, ff.

² Lea, *Hist. of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages*, ii, 135-137; Rashdall, *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, i, 526.

CHAPTER LVIII.

GAIN AND LOSS OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

IN the providence of God the Middle Ages play an important part in the history of the world. They effected for all after ages the following beneficent results :

The Conversion of Europe. When the Middle Ages began all northern Europe was pagan ; when they ended it was all Christian. By the labors of some of the most heroic, intrepid, and devoted missionaries whom the world has ever known the continent of Europe emerged from pagan night into Christian light. That light, indeed, was not the pure light of the Gospel, but it possessed many essential elements of the Gospel, and it was infinitely better than the heathen cults which it supplanted.

The Civilization of Europe. Christianity is the greatest civilizing force in history. Even its corrupt forms contain the germs of reconstruction of the State in the interests of humanity. The monks taught Europe agriculture and the first elements of material progress. Barbarian Europe had no cities. Cities and schools and farms and manufactories and bridges and roads came into being after the missionary had led the way and taught the lesson.

The Restoration of Culture. In spite of the darkness of the so-called Dark Ages, to these we owe the classic culture of Greece and Rome. The monks were the copyists and editors of the time, and most faithfully did they fulfill their trust. In the *Scriptorium* of each monastery literary workers were transcribing or writing books, generally with the greatest care, and often with marvelous artistic beauty. The many variant readings in mediæval and ancient manuscripts must not mislead us as to the care actually bestowed on the work. At the end of some manuscripts we find this adjuration : " I adjure you who shall transcribe this book, by the Lord Jesus Christ and by his glorious coming, who will come to judge the quick and the dead, that you compare what you transcribe and diligently correct it by the copy from which you transcribe it—this adjuration also—and insert it in your copy."¹ Even

¹ Pref. to *Ælfric*, *Homilies MS. Lansdowne*, No. 373, vol. iv, in *British Museum*. See the rare and interesting little book, by F. Somner *Merryweather, Bibliomania in the Middle Ages*, Lond., 1849, p. 22.

to-day the long lists of *errata* show us that printers err as frequently as the ancient hand-writers. An old manuscript has this anecdote: "Dr. Usher, Bishop of Armath, being to preach at Paules Crosse, and passing hastily by one of the stationers, called for a Bible, and had a little one of the London edition given him out, but when he came to look for the text that very verse was omitted in the print: which gave the first occasion of complaint to the king of the insufferable negligence and insufficiency of the London printers and presse, and bredde that great contest that followed betwixt the university of Cambridge and the London stationers about printing of the Bible."¹ We can hardly afford to cast stones at the mediæval scribes. The book production and book trade of the Middle Ages are most interesting themes, but we must not be tempted into that rich field.² Suffice it to say that the students of that time have furnished us with innumerable manuscript editions of the Greek and Latin classics, of the Christian Fathers, and of the Holy Scriptures.

The Consolidation of Nationalities. Protestantism would never have existed, humanly speaking, without the sense of nationality. The German war with the pope under the Hohenstaufen was the death knell of Roman ecclesiastical absolutism. The Roman Church aimed to absorb the State, which was also divine and made by God for independence, and, as a compensation, the divine providence evoked in part out of the sense of nationality which first awoke in the Middle Ages that religious revolt which issued in the national Protestant Churches.

On the other hand, the Middle Age left many problems for the modern Church. It did much of good and much of evil, and left many problems unsolved. Among the achievements which it could not bring to pass, and which it left for the future, were the following:

The Restoration of Liberty. There were, as we have seen, large tracts of speculation in which considerable freedom was allowed. But, after all, the mediæval mind conceived the Church as the guardian of true doctrine, with the right to enforce conformity of opinion for her own sake, for the sake of the souls of men, and for the State's sake. The Protestants inherited that tradition also, and it was not immediately that the Christian Church, loosed from the bonds of Rome, could really address itself to the great problem of realizing for mankind freedom of conscience with stability and loyalty in the State. The modern Church and State have not yet completely solved the problem.

¹ MS. Harleian 6395, Anecdote 348; Merryweather, *ibid.*, pp. 23. 24.

² See Merryweather, as above, and Putnam, *Books and their Makers in the Middle Ages*, 2 vols., N. Y., 1896-97.

The Restoration of Love. The mediæval Church did not grasp the doctrine of the Fatherhood of God, and therefore did not preach or practice the magnificent truth of human brotherhood. There were innumerable instances of the ameliorating influence of Christianity, but there was no passion for humanity, no conception of love as the great dominating force in the world, no mighty currents of philanthropic life to reform prisons, uplift the poor, and rescue the perishing. What there was of kindly succor to the unfortunate was in obedience to a noble Christian instinct, but was out of relation to a wise and large plan for permanent relief. The great problem of charity the Middle Ages left to the modern world.

The Restoration of the Bible. One of the chief crimes of the mediæval Church was to thrust itself and its dogmas between the Christian and the Scriptures. It never in any ecumenical council forbade the reading of the Bible, but in various local synods it did forbid it, and, what is more to the purpose, its whole attitude, its entire conception of doctrine and of the Church itself as the teaching Church, thrust the Bible into the background, and substituted for it only innumerable traditions, rules, and doctrines. There is an historic justice in the birth of Protestantism in the new light and peace that came to Luther and the Reformers in the study of the Scriptures. Even to-day in Roman Catholic countries the Bible is a comparatively unknown book. The restoration of the Bible to the world is the work of Protestantism. The Roman Catholic Church can have in the nature of things not the slightest interest in popular enthusiasm for Bible study.

The Restoration of Christ. "They have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him," might have been the exclamation of a Christian at every footstep in all the weary paths of the mediæval times. The Church took the place of Christ, Mary and various cults took the place of Christ, and the priests took the place of Christ. Single heralds there were, crying in the wilderness—such as a Kempis and a Tauler. But they produced no powerful impress on the dull mass. How to restore him to the people as a personal Saviour, and Friend, and Guide, as the Way, the Truth, and the Life, was a problem that was left to the modern Church.



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